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●

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LETTERS

S.1437
(The Nation, March 25)

Columbus, Ohio

Those liberals who support S.1437 have ignored one important fact. S.1437 would lead to a tremendous increase in the size and importance of the FBI, an organization whose respect for civil liberties leaves something to be desired.

This aspect of S.1437, which has been carefully concealed by its backers, is to my mind a greater threat to civil liberties in the United States than any of the individual provisions affecting First Amendment rights.

S.1437 would give the federal government a new and unprecedented role in law enforcement, bringing the federal courts very close to becoming courts of general criminal jurisdiction.

Some examples of new federal authority in S.1437:

¶ Power to prosecute drugstore clerks for selling dirty books (only those involved in interstate shipment of pornography—which typically means wholesalers—are currently prosecutable at the federal level).

¶ Power to prosecute all extortion offenses (only organized crime figures are prosecutable at present).

¶ Power to prosecute most robberies (via a reduction in the requirement that interstate commerce be affected).

¶ Power to prosecute tampering with a witness in a *state* court proceeding (current law limits federal prosecutors to tampering with *federal* court witnesses).

¶ Power to prosecute a pimp who works with as few as one prostitute (currently the pimp must transport the prostitute interstate to be guilty of a federal offense).

¶ Power to prosecute anyone who accepts a free lunch from someone to whom he gives any information about the place where he works (this would be called "commercial bribery"; . . . an entirely new federal offense). . . .

The Senate Judiciary Committee's 1,200-page report on S.1437 does a masterful job of covering up the extent of the expansion in federal authority that S.1437 would bring. That report consistently miscites and misconstrues federal case law in the course of specious arguments aimed at proving that various provisions of S.1437 do not expand present law.

S.1437's only real backer is the U.S. Justice Department, whose attorneys are responsible for much of its wording. The bill is the product of the efforts of the Department (of which both Senator Kennedy and Professor Schwartz are both alumni) to increase its own role in law enforcement. . . . S.1437 would substantially increase the FBI's capacity to carry on such work.

John Quigley, Ohio State University

Washington, D.C.

In his boundless enthusiasm for the "Criminal Code Reform" bill (S.1437/H.R.6869), Prof. Louis Schwartz [letter to the editor, Apr. 8] has camouflaged major features of the legislation so that they are nearly unrecognizable. Since he has accused the American Civil Liberties Union of being shortsighted for failing to "organize a celebration" to mark the passage of this controversial bill by the Senate, I want to set forth the major reasons for our strong opposition to H.R.6869 in the House of Representatives. In view of Professor Schwartz's earlier support of a compromise version of S.1, the notorious bill from which most of the provisions of H.R.6869 derive, his assessment of the impact of the new bill on civil liberties cannot be considered entirely objective.

H.R.6869 is opposed by the ACLU because it would significantly *expand* the federal criminal law at the expense of constitutional rights. Contrary to Professor

(Continued on page 570)

Variations CALVIN TRILLIN

I've decided to skip "holistic." I don't know what it means, and I don't want to know. That may seem extreme, but I followed the same policy toward "Gestalt" and Nehru jackets, and lived to tell the tale.

"Aren't you even curious about what it means?" my wife, Alice, the family intellectual, asked me one day.

"No, I think I'll just give it a skip," I said. "Thanks anyway."

Alice had just finished comparing the East and West Coast definitions of "holistic" with a friend of ours who was visiting from California. Our friend—I'll call him Tab, although his name is, in fact, Bernard—had mentioned meeting the woman he now lives with in a Hot Tub that belonged to someone who practiced holistic psychology. (Now that I think of it, Tab may have said that the host practiced holistic medicine, or perhaps holistic orthodontia; I only remember that it was one of the healing arts.) I should probably explain that a Hot Tub is a huge wooden vat in someone's back yard—back where the barbecue set used to be a long time ago. In California, I gathered from Tab, people who are only casually acquainted take off all of their clothes, climb into a Hot Tub together, and make up new words. I was later informed by a refugee from Beverly Hills that making up new words is not the only thing naked people do in Hot Tubs; in Southern California, he said, naked people in Hot Tubs sometimes snort cocaine while discussing real estate.

"How about 'heuristics'?" Alice asked.

"Is that the same word?" I said, thinking she might have hit me with a Boston pronunciation, just for laughs.

"Different word," Alice said. "But also very big these days."

"I think I'll give that one a skip, too," I said. "Fair's fair."

I'm quick to acknowledge that, through no efforts of my own, I'm in a better position than most citizens to be cavalier about these matters. Having a family intellectual available, I can always arrange to have words like "holistic" or "heuristics" translated if it should prove absolutely necessary—if they turn up on a road sign, for instance, or on a menu or in the instructions for finding the emergency exit of a DC-10. Also, the family intellectual in question happens to be very understanding about bearing the burden of keeping in touch with the language for the entire family. She knows how disappointed I was when I took the trouble to search out the accepted definition of "prioritize" only to find out that it didn't mean what I'd hoped it would mean.

I should make it clear that I have no objection to new words. I am, for instance, a regular user of the word "yucky"—which, as far as I can tell, was invented out of whole cloth by Oscar the Grouch. I have even invented a new word myself now and then—on long evenings, when there's nothing much on the tube. I was particularly proud of finding a new word to replace awkward phrases like "the woman he now lives with"—CeeCee was my word, from the old news magazine euphemism "constant

(Continued on page 558)

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EDITORIALS

The Moral Fallout

"We are pollution," Kurt Vonnegut tells us (p. 575) in his evocative essay on Stanislaw Lem, the pessimistic Polish futurologist and science fictioneer.

But even a Lem-Vonnegut collaboration would have been hard put to envision a darker or more painfully absurd confrontation than Emily Van Ness depicts in her first article for *The Nation,* "Philadelphia Standoff" (p. 558). Consider the impasse: Mayor Rizzo (who used to be known as America's toughest cop) vs. MOVE, a band of self-proclaimed revolutionaries who would abolish all governments "from here to Peking to Moscow," give America back to the Indians and threaten to kill their own children if police invade their barricaded headquarters. A Philadelphia aberration, like Legionnaire's disease, or "a cult of restless, disenfranchised children of the 1970s, products of a disillusioning economic and political climate that is particularly severe on inner-city blacks"? (Either way, a compromise is finally being worked out.)

Where in the works of Lem or Vonnegut or Orwell, for that matter, is there a more precise rendering of the terrifying implications of the technological imperative than in Robert C. Aldridge's low-keyed account (p. 560) of the development of Missile-X?

It is fashionable to suggest that the student generation of the 1970s, having been reared against the morally numbing background of Vietnam and Watergate, is insensitive to such matters as inner-city poverty and outer-space arms races, that they care more about security than society. Yet Barry Mitzman reports (p. 563) that students across the country—protesting university investment in corporations which do business in South Africa—are asking for "ethical" investment decisions.

Cynics would find it appropriate that the Ivy League plays such a prominent role in this rather tame form of social protest. Randall Rothenberg reports from Princeton that the People's Front for the Liberation of South Africa has been staging daily protest marches around Nassau Hall, drawing 100 to 200 people, and last week students sat in at Columbia University's Graduate School of Business to protest the University's $80 million in investments in companies that do business in South Africa.

And pessimists will doubtless point to the quixotic quality of a movement which aims at asking multinational corporations to become arbiters of international morality.

Reflexively we would look to the marketplace of ideas to sort out these trends over time. But comes now Leonard C. Lewin (p. 567) with the message that conglomerates have invaded the literary marketplace in a way which may devalue the experimental, the difficult, the radical, the various.

Is there no hope against the powerful communications conglomerate? Is originality as well as morality going multinational? See p. 576 for *The Nation*'s prize-winning poets of 1978. We like the idea of speaking poetry to power. And if that doesn't work we'll try satire à la Lem.

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Editor VICTOR NAVASKY

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Literary Editor ELIZABETH POCHODA

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Copy Editor, MARION HESS; Poetry Editor, GRACE SCHULMAN; Theatre, HAROLD CLURMAN; Art, LAWRENCE ALLOWAY; Music, DAVID HAMILTON; Dance, NANCY GOLDNER; Architecture, JANE HOLTZ KAY; Advertising Manager, SUSAN ELLEN HEITLER; Circulation, GLORIA SANGSTER.

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THE NATION

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Security, Justice and Morale

There is, of course, such a thing as "the national security." We have tended here to wrap the concept in inverted commas because of its charged emotional content and also because vast abuses of citizens' basic rights have been committed in its name. But if national security is properly defined and measures to protect it are scrupulously applied, it is a natural and inevitable aspect of the life of any nation.

Having thus bowed to one of the facts of modern life, we turn our attention to some of the current uses and misuses of this expansive term. They turn up most conspicuously these days in Congressional consideration of a new framework of law in which our intelligence agencies, foreign and domestic, should operate, and in the controversy over the prosecution and nonprosecution of FBI men who bent and often broke the laws of the land to facilitate their investigative work.

The Senate has already passed, with only one negative vote, a law that would end the use of warrantless electronic surveillance in foreign intelligence, and it is at present considering a charter for the CIA. At the hearings on ground rules, three former CIA heads said they favor a new charter, but all of them solemnly warned that if the restrictions imposed by law are too rigorous, the ability to gather intelligence will suffer. McGeorge Bundy, once the National Security Adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, characteristically laid out the dilemma when he told the Senate committee that he thought the current bill "lays more emphasis on curbing abuses than on the effective collection and dissemination of intelligence."

That sounds thoughtful and judicious but, given the awful record of the CIA in activities ranging from assassination attempts to mind-altering drug experiments to heroin-trading and the infamous Phoenix program in Indochina, not to mention the agency's intervention in political life at home, where does Bundy think the emphasis should or could be? He even took an extraordinary leap of logic—when questioning whether the CIA charter should specifically ban such activities as assassination and torture—by suggesting that this would somehow have the effect of implicitly authorizing "arson, kidnapping and mayhem." Too tight restrictions on the CIA, he also seemed to be saying, would prevent the recruitment of "good people" and thus deny us "the effective intelligence establishment this country needs." Can Bundy seriously think that more "good people" will join a CIA that is allowed to kill and torture than one purged of these barbarous activities?

Meanwhile, over at the fortress of the FBI, the dust is still settling from the indictment, at last, of three former high officials of the bureau for "unlawfully, willfully and knowingly," as the charge reads, conspiring "to injure and oppress citizens of the United States" during the attempt to track down "Weatherman fugitives." We had the astonishing spectacle, when L. Patrick Gray III, W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller went to court in Washington to plead not guilty to those charges, of a demonstration in their behalf by about 1,000 FBI agents. "When the FBI Protests, Who Infiltrates the Crowd?" ran the headline over Art Buchwald's column.

Attorney General Bell has, he hopes, settled the matter of the unlawful actions of the FBI in the breaking-and-entering business by bringing indictments against the three high FBI officials and letting most of the lesser fry go free. This is in the interest, we are told, of both enforcing the law and of not damaging the "morale" of the FBI. But by taking this line Bell has made a challengeable if understandable compromise with the idea of strict law enforcement. The morale of the federal police must hereafter rest on their satisfaction that some, but not all, will be called to account for their actions. That is a shaky basis for the esprit de corps of law-enforcement officers in whose dedication to the ideals of justice we are supposed to trust.

There remains the peculiarly unpleasant case of J. Wallace LaPrade, the former head of the New York office of the FBI who was removed from that job, pressured to resign (which he did not do) and who has subsequently and consequently challenged the Attorney General in every way he could think of. Says LaPrade: "I don't work for him. I don't get paid by him." He even challenged Bell to a TV debate and has claimed that the administration is right now engaging in "warrantless investigations" with the President's approval.

Most unfortunately, Carter has shown characteristic ambivalence in this matter, wanting the best of both worlds. He allowed Bell to go ahead with the indictment of the three FBI types for their part in the violation of Fourth Amendment rights in the Weatherman cases and simultaneously issued an Executive Order which authorizes, in foreign intelligence cases, many of the dubious, warrantless practices for which the FBI men are being prosecuted. The distinction is apparently that our old friend "national security" is or could be in jeopardy in foreign intelligence matters and that this consideration does not apply, at least not as convincingly, in domestic cases.

Many Americans will see the distinction as so fine as to be almost invisible. And they will notice that the Carter administration's handling of this whole business of bringing the intelligence establishment back under control is marked by an incoherence that is almost capricious. All the more reason, therefore, for Congress to bear down as it makes new laws to control the FBI and the CIA: it must certainly know that no administration can be trusted to do it by Executive fiat.

A Chronology

April 1 (issue date April 8): Navasky reviews Weinstein's *Perjury* in *The Nation.*

April 6: Weinstein tells *The Washington Post* that this summer he plans to write an essay responding to "legitimate criticism."

April 6: *et seq.*: Weinstein tells *The Washington Post, Newsweek*, the *Today* show, et al. that "Navasky, Hiss or anybody else" is invited to examine his thousands of documents, his tapes and notes, his original 1,600-page manuscript.

April 7: *The Nation* wires Weinstein offering him right of reply at his earliest convenience.

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April 10: Weinstein tells a City University of New York audience that he intends to respond to *The Nation* in *The New Republic* because "a scholar has the right to choose his forum."

April 15: Weinstein publishes reply in *The New Republic*. It says "Navasky alleges that I misquoted six people whom I interviewed, misstated basic facts, and distorted evidence—grave accusations against a scholar. Had he contacted me—which he did not—I would have invited Navasky to examine the material in my archive which proves that I have cited all six accurately. Three of the six interviewees who recanted their stories . . . are on tape."

April 21: Navasky calls Weinstein and takes him up on invitation to examine archives over weekend in time for response in *The New Republic*. Weinstein says he can't rearrange schedule to accommodate a weekend examination but says letter will follow.

April 25: A letter from Weinstein arrives, dated April 22:

Dear Sir: *Although I have declined requests from other journalists and scholars for access to my files prior to depositing them at the Truman Library, and despite your distortions and unprofessional attitude toward me—evidenced by your failure to fact-check your allegations with me before rushing into your first attack, and by your disparagement of the need to inspect my files in your most recent editorial—I have decided to allow you to examine the material in my records which you most urgently need to see. When you phoned yesterday, you stated that your purpose was to inspect this material prior to writing your response to my article in* The New Republic.

Please write me in advance, listing the items you wish to see as specifically as possible. I ask this for reasons of time and efficiency and, frankly, to prevent a time-consuming "fishing expedition" in my 50,000-page archive by you on behalf of third parties unconnected with your magazine. You are free to take notes of the material I show you, and you may bring with you your associates. . . .

The only occasion my schedule permits for such a visit over the next three weeks is Sunday, April 30, between 10 A.M. and 1 P.M. Since I cannot spend a great deal of time on this, I ask that you limit your requests to a reasonable number.

If the time and date are convenient for you, please write to confirm and include your list of requests.

Sincerely, Allen Weinstein

April 26: We send Weinstein a letter:

Dear Mr. Weinstein: *I have delayed my response to your article in* The New Republic *in order to take the opportunity to read your files, hear your tapes and otherwise inspect your records. Even though you have retreated from the recent offer you made on the* Today *show and via the media to give us unrestricted access to your files at our convenience, I accept your offer to inspect them Sunday, April 30, at 10 A.M., though you must know, with your scholarly background, that three hours hardly permits a serious examination of complicated and extensive materials.*

I will be accompanied by my associate, Philip Pochoda and [one other]. . . .

The following materials are of particular interest to us in framing our reply to The New Republic:

The complete transcripts and tapes of the following interviews. (Dates for interviews are taken from Perjury.*)*:

Prof. Karel Kaplan: March 27 and April 19, 1977
Sam Krieger: Aug. 16 and 18, 1974 (and any Krieger correspondence)
Maxim Lieber: May 10 and 13, 1975
Paul Willert: March 17, 1975 (and Willert correspondence)
Donald Hiss: Sept. 29, 1975

The complete transcripts of the following interviews (and any correspondence):

Nadya Ulanovskaya: Jan. 3-6, 1977
Alden Whitman: eight 1974 interviews, (and all Whitman correspondence)
Dr. Viola Bernard: June 23, 1975
Rev. John Cronin: Nov. 26, 1975
Prof. Sidney Hook: April 30, 1975
Philip J. Jaffee: Sept. 17, 1975
Isaac Don Levine: Sept. 16, 1974: Oct. 18, 1974
T.S. Matthews: March 22, 1975
David Zablodowsky: Nov. 1, 1975

In addition we should like to inspect:

(1) *The identification by the emigree Russian woman of Samuel Krieger as "Clarence Miller" who lived in the Soviet Union with her mother.*
(2) *The letter to Alden Whitman from Roberta Fansler describing the Chicago dinner party in which Priscilla Hiss [allegedly] said she was "sick and tired of all the lies and cover-ups."*
(3) *The letter from Paul Willert's wife to Malcolm Cowley relating to Otto Katz.*
(4) *The evidence from "pre-trial defense experts" to contradict Daniel Norman's post-trial affidavit that the envelope submitted by Chambers lacked the markings that would have been inevitable.*
(5) *The copy of the Peters deportation hearing you secured under the Freedom of Information Act.*

Unless we hear from you to the contrary, we will arrive at your house at 10 A.M. this coming Sunday.

Sincerely yours, Victor Navasky

April 27: Ashbel Green, Weinstein's editor at Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., calls and asks if we can send Weinstein a copy of the latest issue of *The Nation*, which includes an editorial commenting on Weinstein's reply in *The New Republic*. We agree and also tell Green we are sending Weinstein a telegram stating that Robert Sherrill will be the third *Nation* participant and that in addition to the materials already asked for we would like to see:

(1) Interviews with Meyer Schapiro, and the letters confirming Chambers's departure from party.
(2) Materials on Solow's interviews with Chambers.
(3) Materials on Weinstein interviews with all possessors of Hiss typewriter.

April 30: At 10 A.M., Sherrill, Pochoda and Navasky present themselves at the Weinstein home in Washington and are met by Mrs. Weinstein who tells them that Weinstein has sent a telegram the previous evening (Saturday night) withdrawing his offer. She hands them a copy of the telegram which reads: RETURNED TODAY. FOUND YOUR

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LETTERS, TELEGRAMS AND ARTICLE. SINCE THEY VIOLATE CONDITIONS I SET, MEETING CANCELLED. ALL MY FILES WILL BE DEPOSITED LATER THIS YEAR AT TRUMAN LIBRARY. ALLEN WEINSTEIN.

We offer to inspect only that which Mr. Weinstein cares to show and ask to speak with him, but Mrs. Weinstein declines on his behalf.

May 1: At 11 A.M. Weinstein's telegram (as quoted above) arrives at *The Nation* office.

Over the past month we have received much correspondence and other communications regarding Weinstein's book and the Hiss-Chambers case. In a future issue of *The Nation* we intend to publish a roundup of this correspondence along with a status report on how well Weinstein's scholarship has held up under the investigations of ourselves and others.

VARIATIONS *(Continued from page 554)*

companion"—but then Alice told me that CeeCee sounded like a breath mint.

What I have a resistance to is not new words but words that come into a vogue that may not last as long as the one for Nehru jackets—disappearing from the vocabulary of the sophisticates just about the time that a slow reactor like me has learned the difference between the East Coast and the West Coast definitions. I realize that passing up words like "holistic" may strike some people as laziness or even Philistinism, but I have always liked to think of it as a sort of negative act of character. The speed of trends being what it is these days, after all, about the only way a citizen can exhibit an independent spirit is to remain totally inert.

When I'm trying to impress Alice, for instance, I remind her that I have resolutely ignored drinking fashions for twenty-five years, steadily knocking back Scotch whisky the entire time. They turned to wine; I drank Scotch. They smoked pot; I drank Scotch. They ordered Perrier water; I drank Scotch. They snorted cocaine while naked in a Hot Tub discussing real estate; I drank Scotch. I like to think that late on some Saturday nights Alice can point to me—slumped in the corner, sodden with Scotch—and say, "There sits a man of principle. Inert." □

THE STORY OF MOVE

PHILADELPHIA STANDOFF

EMILY VAN NESS

What do you do when a group of heavily armed fugitives threaten to kill their own children as well as the police, if the latter attempt to enter their barricaded headquarters? That dilemma has puzzled the administration of Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo for almost a year. From May 20, 1977 until May 3 of this year, about twenty members of the black revolutionary group known as MOVE, who have said they would give America back to the Indians and abolish all governments "from here to Peking to Moscow," were locked in a tense and bizarre armed standoff with Rizzo, who gained notoriety as one of the toughest cops in America when, as Police Commissioner, he strip-searched Black Panther Party members in the streets of Philadelphia. For the last fifty-one days the MOVE house was besieged, with water cut off and the police preventing the delivery of food or other essentials.

The confrontation began when MOVE members, brandishing pistols, automatic rifles and shotguns, shouted threats at police from the porch of their run-down house in the racially integrated Powelton area of West Philadelphia, near Drexel University. The police, who had had frequent altercations with the group, had gone there to investigate alleged health and housing code violations and complaints from neighbors who had stated that MOVE members were parading with weapons. There was no shooting, but Rizzo immediately ordered round-the-clock surveillance of the enclave, and that in effect inaugurated the siege. The police obtained arrest warrants for eleven MOVE members, charging them with rioting, weapons violations, making terroristic threats and disorderly conduct.

Months earlier, when the city first announced its intention to inspect the house, MOVE swore to prevent it. The people in the house said they feared their children would be taken from them and they would be forced to leave. "If they [city officials] violate the sanctity of our home, we will cycle [kill] our children," said group member Delbert Africa (most MOVE members use "Africa" as a last name). There are believed to be five or six children, including infants, inside the compound. Four of the other five active MOVE members not in the house are in jail.

The barricaded group had been cut off from food and water since March 16 when, in an action involving up to 1,000 police officers, including sharpshooters and some in riot gear, four blocks surrounding the compound were sealed off. Since then, citywide protest has been building against Rizzo's attempt to "starve 'em out." People have

Emily Van Ness is a free-lance writer and documentary film maker. Last year, she was one of eight journalists from the United States and Canada selected to receive an Alfred P. Sloan Foundation Fellowship to study economics at Princeton University.

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been arrested for trying to break through the police barricades. Many black and white leaders and organizations in the community, among them the Quakers and the Baptist Ministers Conference, who say they have little sympathy with MOVE's philosophy or life style, have objected to Rizzo's tactics.

However, most Philadelphians were at a loss to know what to think about MOVE and about how the city should deal with it. Powelton Village, once called "the Berkeley of Philadelphia" because of its tolerant atmosphere, is now referred to as a war zone. The standoff has set neighbor against neighbor, friend against friend. Opinions on MOVE did not divide along predictable lines: people on the Left seem as often estranged from the group as are those on the Right. Among MOVE's neighbors, both black and white, some backed the barricaded group, saying that Rizzo was harassing it for political reasons; others approved the blockade on the ground that the besieged men and women were physically filthy and potentially violent.

"The blockade has brought us the first peace of mind that we've had in years," says Dorothy Lindsay, a black woman and a member of the Powelton Emergency Human Rights Committee, who lives across the street from MOVE's headquarters. "MOVE is the biggest bunch of hypocrites I know. They scream about their human rights, but what about ours? We've had to put up with their rats and garbage and obscenities for years."

Founded in the early 1970s by Vincent (John Africa) Leaphart, whose precise identity and present whereabouts are unknown, MOVE calls itself a nonviolent, religious group; it eschews modern technology and advocates a return to the natural order of life. MOVE members, who are mostly between the ages of 20 and 30, say MOVE is not an acronym, but a word whose secret meaning is known only to followers of their creed. There have never been more than thirty-five members—enlisted, according to an early MOVE manifesto, "from among former gang leaders, alcoholics, college students, Black Panthers, professors, Muslims, writers, rapists, prostitutes, businessmen, burglars, drug addicts, social workers and convicts." The group embraces communal life that includes eating raw vegetables, keeping their children out of school and naked, even in winter, and harboring packs of fifty or more dogs at a time.

Seeking, they say, to revolutionize society through their actions, the members have protested at hundreds of meetings in Philadelphia, confronting people loudly, and often obscenely, in city courtrooms and on the street. Their targets have ranged from pet shops to Communists, from Quakers to Buddhists. A few years ago, MOVE members handcuffed television talk show host Mike Douglas while he was taping a show. They were protesting, they said, the handcuffing of a chimpanzee that had gone wild in the studio where the Douglas show was being taped a few weeks earlier.

This incident, and others like it, have resulted in hundreds of arrests and trials. MOVE members say police have harassed them over the last five years by making more than 600 arrests on minor charges. They have had to arm themselves, they say, because the authorities have beaten them, and killed their dogs; several of their infants have died, they assert, after scuffles with the police. But attempts to determine who the infants were or how they died were fruitless because MOVE members do not register births or formally bury their dead.

Philadelphians who are aware of their Police Department's reputation for brutality do not dismiss MOVE's charges as the harangues of a bunch of obstreperous radicals. But the police also claim evidence of provocation. And some people find it curious that Rizzo initially used the housing code as a weapon against MOVE, when an estimated 20,000 or more houses in the city's ghettos are unfit for habitation. Rizzo had shown little interest in cleaning them up before MOVE got on his nerves.

On the other hand, people who have been extremely critical of Rizzo in the past have applauded his handling of the MOVE situation to date. F. Gilman Spencer, editor of the *Philadelphia Daily News,* says: "Rizzo has made inflammatory remarks that have been completely uncalled for. But as far as the city lusting after MOVE's blood goes, I don't think you can say that. I think this is one case where the cops have handled themselves beautifully so far."

Rizzo and other city officials feel they have exercised "exceptional forbearance" in dealing with MOVE—"Philadelphia's answer to the PLO," as one high-ranking official put it. They point to testimony in a trial of a MOVE member and a MOVE sympathizer which revealed that members of the group had actually tried to obtain an atomic bomb.

City Solicitor Sheldon Albert said: "The sole, single issue in this matter is whether there should be the rule of the law in Philadelphia. And the law calls for barricading felons. Simply put: is the law different for MOVE than it is for the 2 million citizens of the city?" Albert said the Rizzo administration had tried to be conservative in its actions with MOVE "because of the black community. If this had been a group of whites we would have gone in there in a minute."

Despite City Hall's alleged forbearance, some black leaders have called the blockade just another example of Rizzo's callousness and lack of concern for blacks, who comprise a third of the city's population. Some said that MOVE was a problem for the black community, which should be allowed to settle the matter with no intervention. But black leaders who tried to negotiate a settlement between MOVE and the city were unsuccessful. Dick Gregory, the comedian and political activist, came to Philadelphia in March at the suggestion of MOVE supporters, but he had no luck.

The NAACP has yet to take a formal position on MOVE or the blockade. The Philadelphia chapter of the ACLU voiced no support for MOVE and initially did not protest the blockade. Spencer Coxe, the city's ACLU chairman, called MOVE "a terrible law-enforcement problem for the city," but admitted "we haven't come up with any recommendation as to how to resolve it."

The Powelton United Neighbors, a white community group, and other citywide organizations like the Black

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Community Human Rights Coalition, protested Rizzo's sealing off of an entire community. They warned that if he could do it in Powelton, there was nothing to prevent his doing it at other times and places throughout Philadelphia.

Despite reports that food and water supplies at the house were running very low, MOVE refused the city's offers of food and water for its nursing mothers and children. When police and city welfare workers recently put fruit, vegetables, cheese, eggs and water on the platform in front of the MOVE house, MOVE members kicked the supplies into the street. "How can you feed the children and not the parents?" shouted a MOVE member.

Hakeem Ishango Africa, 28, the only barricaded MOVE member to defect to police since the blockade began, has reported that children and their mothers within the compound are suffering from dysentery. But Ishango, who said he is still a member of MOVE, also repeated what MOVE has been saying since police began their vigil: "If any of the city administration attempt to storm MOVE headquarters, every MOVE member will defend it . . . with everything they have."

Hope for a negotiated settlement brightened somewhat on the day Ishango was taken into police custody, when word came that MOVE members had formed a negotiating team and chosen a lawyer. But MOVE has been demanding all along that U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young be brought in as a mediator and that President Carter grant all MOVE members amnesty on criminal charges. Finally, MOVE's lawyer, Oscar Gaskins, worked out with the city an agreement whereby the group will surrender its weapons, get rid of its pack of dogs and vacate the premises within ninety days. MOVE now talks of moving to New Jersey.

Some people see MOVE as an aberrant, if not psychopathic, version of the counterculture radicalism of a decade ago. They wonder if what Philadelphia has been enduring may not be a playing out of the confrontations of the 1960s. However, it may also be that MOVE is a cult of restless, disenfranchised children of the 1970s, products of a disillusioning economic and political climate that is particularly severe on inner-city blacks in this country. If that is the case, it is likely that other groups like MOVE will crop up again and again until the country resolves to face the social problems that lie behind these melodramatic threats. □

FIRST STRIKE WITH MOBILITY

THE MISSILE SHELL GAME

ROBERT C. ALDRIDGE

Within a week after President Carter shot down production of the B-1 bomber, pressure began mounting to deploy huge mobile missiles to offset its loss. Paul H. Nitze, policy chairman for the ultraconservative Committee On The Present Danger, contending that Missile-X is now vital to maintain "rough equivalence" with the Soviet Union, predicted that its fate could well be the next important issue. Meanwhile, Carter was voicing hope that neither the United States nor the USSR would deploy mobile Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs). Missile-X is not only being developed to be mobile; it would also, as I shall explain, be a major component of a U.S. first-strike capability.

This weapon, M-X as it is often called, emerged from the strategic exercise studies of the 1960s along with Trident and the B-1. It is being pushed as a mobile ICBM for the 1980s, to replace the fixed land-based Minuteman weapons. The Pentagon claims that missiles in silos will soon be vulnerable to Soviet attack. Although development of M-X started in 1972, more than $120 million had been spent before that to study various schemes of land mobility.

Robert Aldridge, an aerospace engineer, worked sixteen years for Lockheed helping to design Polaris missiles and MIRVs for the submarine-launched Poseidon missile. He is now doing research, writing and lecturing to inform the American people about the first-strike trends in weaponry. His articles on this danger have appeared in The Nation, Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists *and other publications.*

In 1974 the Missile-X program was looking at thirteen land-mobile possibilities including road, rail, missile pods on the bottom of ponds, hard capsules, shelter bases and trenches. (See Aldridge: "Coming Out of the Silos: Another Lap on the Arms Track, *The Nation*, December 14, 1974.) Mobility in the air was also receiving attention and in that year the Air Force launched a Minuteman missile from a C-5A transport plane flying over the Pacific. Four ICBMs even larger than Minuteman could be carried in a C-5A or aboard modified versions of wide-bodied jetliners.

By 1977 the basing concepts had narrowed to three—air-mobile, trenches and shelters—one of which is supposed to be chosen, perhaps by 1979 but probably not until 1980. If air-mobility is selected, the most reliable method would be continuous air alert but that would be tremendously expensive, and strip alert (readiness to take off upon warning of attack) might be a compromise. One of the main drawbacks to air mobility is relating the target to the exact position, altitude, direction and speed of the aircraft at the precise moment M-X is launched. However, that difficulty will disappear when the full constellation of twenty-four Navstar global positioning satellites become operational in the mid-1980s. Navstar will provide in-flight navigation fixes for the missile that will be accurate within 30 feet in all three dimensions, and in velocity to the nearest tenth of a mile per hour. M-X could then correct its course after being launched.

Of the land-mobile concepts, the trench method would require digging a 5-to-25-mile-long trench for each mis-

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sile—the typical length being perhaps 13 miles. For 300 M-X missiles, which seems to be the quantity projected in the *present* plan, that would mean 4,000 miles of trenches, or more than the entire distance across the United States. At the estimated $4 million per mile, the trenches alone would run to $16 billion, or more than a third of the $40 billion anticipated for a 300 missile M-X force.

Each trench is to be dug 42 feet wide and 21 feet deep and to contain a concrete tunnel with an inside diameter of 14 feet and a flat floor for the track of the missile's Transporter/Launcher vehicle. The concrete roof of the tunnel would be made of interlocking keystones; it could withstand a tremendous weight from above, but the launch canister could easily push one or more of the keystones up and out of the way when it rose to fire the missile. The tunnel would be covered with at least 5 feet of earth. The Pentagon plans to put these covered trenches in the southwest United States where there is a lot of desert and, undoubtedly, in areas where there will be relatively little resistance from environmental and peace groups. The Air Force is looking at possible sites in California, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and Utah.

One missile, lying horizontally in its launch canister in each buried tunnel, will move back and forth at random on its Transporter/Launcher trolley. The vehicle will be equipped with liquid springs to dampen the ground shock from any nearby nuclear explosions. On either end of the Transporter/Launcher will be a huge blast plug to close off the tunnel in both directions and prevent nuclear blast and radiation elsewhere along the line from damaging the missile or its launching equipment. The Transporter/Launcher, being remotely controlled and computer programmed, requires no crew. Since the Russians cannot know where Missile-X will be in its tunnel at a given moment, they would have to use many warheads to make sure they had destroyed one M-X.

Hardened and semi-hard shelters (earth-covered concrete bunkers) are the other land-mobile basing mode being considered. There would be many more shelters than missiles to fill them, and periodically and at random the projectiles would be shuffled from shelter to shelter. Thus the Soviets would be confronted with a "missile shell game," as one Air Force colonel put it.

To launch Missile-X from a shelter the Missile Launch Vehicle would drive outside, erect the launch canister and fire. Of course this procedure could be impeded somewhat if debris from nuclear explosions had fallen around the shelter, but there would be no problem with rubble if these weapons were used in a pre-emptive first strike. And the missile's characteristics seem to fit it better for that role than for deterrence.

Shelter basing would be the less expensive method and it poses few uncertainties to the present state-of-the-art. For the tunnels some major questions are as yet unanswered, but the fewer personnel involved and the ability to move the missiles without exposing them to observation make trenches the more attractive hiding places.

Every ten missiles in either the trench or shelter schemes would have a manned Launch Control Center (LCC), also mobile. In the case of trenches, each LCC would have a trench of its own and move back and forth therein. In the case of shelter basing, the LCC would, like the missiles, move from shelter to shelter. Should either type of control center be damaged, the surviving missiles under its control could be retargeted and launched by an airborne control center.

Elusive basing, however, is not the end of the story. The nature of the missile is at least as important—and it looks to be a first-strike weapon. Missile-X, as now envisioned (it seems to be still growing), will be 7.6 feet in diameter, 70.5 feet long, and will weigh 95 tons—more than twice the weight of Minuteman-3. It will deliver a payload in excess of 4.5 tons across at least 7,000 nautical miles. The military have made much of M-X's ability to ride out a Soviet assault and strike in retaliation, thus making it a more credible deterrent, but that is not the complete picture. Switching from silos to mobility will allow the Air Force to build a larger ICBM which can carry a greater number of multiple warheads within whatever limit on carrier vehicles may be negotiated.

M-X's efficiency in destroying such hardened targets as missile silos is what identifies it as a first-strike weapon. The type of accuracy being sought is not needed for retaliatory attacks on cities and factories, which is the threat that supposedly deters the USSR from shooting first. Missile-X will, first of all, sport a new guidance system known as the advanced inertial reference sphere. Weighing only 115 pounds, it will be physically smaller than the Minuteman-3 guidance package while operating five to six times as fast. It will provide midcourse positioning to within 100 feet and that, when supplemented by Navstar, will be cut to 30 feet or less. That, in turn, will provide a target accuracy of 300 feet.

Various warheads are being considered for the M-X. The Mark-12A re-entry vehicle, which will be used to improve Minuteman-3, is a candidate. Ten to fifteen of these can be loaded on one M-X. Air Force spokesmen also speak of a new warhead for Missile-X, and the Pentagon has always kept the door open for target-homing MARVs (Maneuvering Re-Entry Vehicles) for its new missile. Maneuvering warheads can do more damage with smaller bombs; therefore more of them could fit on each missile. At least twenty MARVs in the 75-to-100-kiloton range could be carried on an M-X. Their target accuracy would be within 90 feet, and that certainly fits the pattern of the zero-miss weapons being developed to support the Pentagon's first-strike doctrine.

U.S. military officials charge the Soviets with seeking a pre-emptive first-strike capability because they build larger missiles and bigger bombs than we do. But the reason they do so is that, up to now, they have been unable to make them smaller but more accurate. Accuracy is the real key to a pre-emptive first strike and it is on accuracy that the U.S. military programs are focusing. The interaction of accuracy and explosive power is expressed in a formula wherein the lethality of a warhead is equal to two-thirds of its yield in megatons, divided

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Harold Brown, Secretary of Defense

by the square of its accuracy in nautical miles. Using that equation, here follows a comparison of the lethal potential of three U.S. and three USSR missiles:

Missile	Total Lethality
(U.S.) Minuteman-3 with three 300-kiloton MIRVs (CEP = 600 feet)	135
(U.S.) Missile-X with ten 300-kiloton MIRVs (CEP = 300 feet)	1,800
(U.S.) Missile-X with twenty 75-kiloton MARVs (CEP = 90 feet)	15,867
(USSR) SS-17 with four 200-kiloton MIRVs (CEP = 1,800 feet)	15
(USSR) SS-18 with eight 2-megaton MIRVs (CEP = 1,500 feet)	181
(USSR) SS-19 with six 200-kiloton MIRVs (CEP = 1,500 feet)	33

One sees that even the improved Minuteman-3 is nine times as lethal as Russia's new SS-17 ICBM and four times as deadly as its new SS-19—it is close to the same class as the USSR's latest SS-18 silo-buster. Missile-X with Mark-12A MIRVs (Multiple Individually Targeted Re-Entry Vehicles) will have ten times the lethality of the SS-18. That means each one of M-X's MIRVs will have the silo-killing capability of a Russian SS-18 missile. Put another way, an M-X equipped with ten Mark-12A warheads has the same chance of killing ten silos as the massive SS-18 has of destroying one—assuming that missile reliability and target hardness are the same, which they aren't: the United States has always been ahead in reliability and target hardening and that tips the scales even more in favor of M-X. And when Missile-X is loaded with twenty 75-kiloton MARVs the mighty SS-18 is hopelessly outclassed in killing power. No matter how one looks at it, and no matter how it is loaded, M-X can be construed only as an aggressive, counterforce, first-strike weapon.

In the lethality calculations at left I have neglected the cratering effect of warheads. Simply stated, if the warhead detonates within two-thirds the radius of the crater (it creates) from the target, the target will be destroyed. Therefore, any increased accuracy is wasted overkill. But the overkill can eventually be used more efficiently by installing smaller warheads (which carve out a smaller crater) and more of them. That, of course, would allow each missile to destroy more targets.

Before he resigned as Defense Secretary in January 1977, Donald Rumsfeld put $294 million into the fiscal 1978 military budget to move M-X into full-scale development. That phase includes all testing necessary to make it operational by 1983—two years ahead of previous plans. The Carter administration subsequently postponed that step and cut Missile-X's budget by more than half. Then Secretary Harold Brown, turning 180 degrees, announced approval in October 1977 of the Air Force's $245 million request to put M-X in full-scale development during fiscal year 1979. However, Secretary Brown and the Air Force apparently didn't check their plans with the White House, for President Carter again axed the M-X. The National Security Council had advised against full-scale development on the ground that doing so could have an adverse effect on SALT II negotiations. The White House Office of Management and Budget also favored delaying Missile-X until research on the basing mode is further along. And the General Accounting Office likewise urged that the effort be delayed because adequate technology is lacking. An indication that the Air Force is having problems with the basing studies emerged early this year when it widened the scope to include variations of the trench and shelter concepts and also revived the idea of placing pods at the bottom of ponds. So we should not be deceived into thinking that Carter is slowing the program; Missile-X is still moving along as fast as its sponsors can push it.

Regarding the SALT negotiations, Missile-X raises critical arms control questions. A basic requirement of any treaty is that compliance must be verifiable. Satellites can monitor trenches and shelters, but in the past it has been assumed that each silo contained a missile. With mobile missiles there would be no way of telling if a quarter, a half, or all the shelters were occupied. Nor could the Soviets be sure there was only one missile in each trench. The elusive nature of M-X makes verification of numbers impossible. And, of course, on-site inspections would defeat the purpose of hiding the weapons.

It is also noteworthy that, although the SALT I In-

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terim Agreement on Offensive Strategic Weapons did not explicitly prohibit the development of mobile missiles, the United States appended a unilateral statement that it "would consider the deployment of land-mobile launchers . . . inconsistent with the objectives of the Agreement." Now it is the United States that is rapidly edging toward a strategic mobile system. And, as director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Dr. Frank Barnaby predicts the deployment of Missile-X will probably provoke the Soviet Union into deploying even larger and more numerous warheads to threaten all possible M-X sites. Along the same line, Brookings Institution arms control specialist John Baker described Missile-X as "the most critical arms control issue to be examined in the next five years."

But Defense Secretary Brown was the man who put his finger on the real danger of M-X when he was discussing land-based ballistic missiles during House Appropriations Committee hearings last September:

> . . . I would like to turn to another matter of perceptions—how the Soviets might perceive the threat to them of a U.S. pre-emptive first strike. They might calculate that a first strike would result in a [surviving missile] ratio adverse to them. . . . To the extent that is so, either side will, during the next decade, have a so-called "advantage" in firing first. . . .

If it is to the Pentagon's advantage to shoot first, we can assure ourselves that they are working in that direction. But in developing that capability we are risking the chance that the Soviets might fire in desperation before they lost all their weapons. Senate research and development chairman Thomas McIntyre sounded the warning more bluntly. He emphasized that development of Missile-X would be a "disastrous mistake" and could trigger nuclear war. He pointed out that 300 M-X missiles could destroy the entire Soviet ICBM force in thirty minutes, and that in a period of crisis the USSR would be faced with the choice of either using their missiles or losing them. About three-quarters of the Soviet Union's strategic arsenal are in silo-based ICBMs vulnerable to a U.S. first strike.

Oblivious to all the dangers, the Pentagon seems determined to push ahead with M-X development and deployment. It has already planted the seeds to create another "missile gap" in public and Congressional minds. According to Navy spokesmen, we will soon lose more than half of our submarine missile launchers because the building of new Trident submarines is slower than the retirement rate for old Polaris and Poseidon boats. And that difficulty, they say, is compounded by cost overruns and delays at the shipyards. The Navy points out that, using a twenty-year service life for Polaris and Poseidon, the number of submarine missile launchers will decrease from 656 today to only 312 by 1986. To prevent that drastic reduction in missile power, the Pentagon is urging the need for Missile-X. (M-X is also supposed to be cheaper, but that is based on present estimates for the desired quantity and does not take production cost overruns into account.)

The deception becomes apparent when one recalls that the Navy has been considering twenty-five years as the service life of Poseidon subs, not twenty. That means the low point won't be reached until 1992 and then we shall have 504 launchers, not 312. Then, when one considers that Trident has 70 percent availability "on target," compared to 50 percent for Poseidon, the number of submarine-based missiles ready to fire at any one time will be slightly more than today.

A fictitious missile gap in the early 1960s caused the panic deployment of Polaris subs and ICBMs. That, in turn, sparked a reactive Soviet buildup a few years later. We don't want to fall victim to that type of Pentagon peddling again. Under any circumstances Missile-X would be a "disastrous mistake." Besides adding impetus to the nuclear arms race, it will cause the Russians to poise nervous trigger fingers over the launch buttons. That mistake can be prevented. It behooves those of us who foot the bill to see that it is. □

U.S. STUDENTS vs. APARTHEID

The Divestiture Demonstrations

BARRY MITZMAN

Concern over U.S. economic support for South Africa has reached America's colleges and universities—with some surprising results. Students at dozens of institutions across the country have transformed this seemingly remote concern into a hot campus issue by demanding that colleges stop complacently profiting from millions of dollars worth of investments in corporations doing business in South Africa. Surprisingly often, students' demands are being met.

With 1960s-style demonstrations and new legal tactics, students in Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Oregon have prevailed on their state universities to sell stock in firms with South African interests. The Universities of Illinois and Minnesota, among others, have agreed to join some church groups and unions in supporting shareholders' resolutions aimed at forcing U.S. firms to oppose apartheid or close their South African operations. Colleges such as Amherst, Hampshire and Smith have been prodded by students into making judgments about the ethics of their investments.

A certain naiveté may be involved in asking multinational corporations to become arbiters of international morality. A cynical executive might argue that what they are being asked to do in South Africa is akin to the "destabilization" practiced by IT&T in Chile. But the

Barry Mitzman is a correspondent for the Chronicle of Higher Education; *he lives in Salem, Ore.*

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Carter administration has been unwilling to impose formal economic sanctions on South Africa, to ban imports or to discourage investments. That has left it to corporations—and more to the point, their shareholders—to judge the ethics of continuing business as usual in the land of apartheid.

Students are forcing universities as investors to make that judgment, while admitting that resolutions and stock divestitures are unlikely to drive companies from South Africa or force much change in the government there. What is involved, students say, is an ethical choice—a decision by universities not to profit from apartheid—and a symbolic gesture perhaps capable of influencing public opinion and foreign policy.

There are indications that campus and public pressures have had small but discernible effects. Citibank, the second largest bank in the United States, announced in March that it would no longer make loans to the South African Government or to government-owned enterprises—though the bank would not admit that politics had anything to do with the decision. The Investor Responsibility Research Center (IRRC) a nonprofit organization in Washington, D.C., asserts that stock divestitures and anti-apartheid resolutions have had "a measurable impact on the policies and practices of companies operating in South Africa." As evidence, the IRRC cites the growing list of companies that have signed the "Sullivan statement," a six-point pledge to desegregate South African facilities, award equal payment for equal work, and hire and train nonwhites for jobs that are meaningful.

Of course, U.S. corporations, from Lockheed to ITT, engage in any number of less than scrupulous international activities. But students have focused on investment in South Africa, perhaps because it is where the momentum for change seems to be building, and because the immorality of apartheid is undeniable. U.S. investment in South Africa is substantial—some 350 firms have direct investments totaling nearly $1.7 billion, about 17 percent of all foreign investment there—which means that many large universities have tens of millions of dollars in South Africa-related stock. The issue is one that colleges cannot easily ignore. "They have such a large stake in the issue," explains Gary Feldman, president of the University of Oregon student body. "They can't really call it none of their business."

The most sweeping campus action thus far has come in Oregon. Last November the Oregon Board of Higher Education voted to sell some $5 million worth of stock in twenty-seven companies doing "substantial" business in South Africa, Namibia (South-West Africa), and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The board, which governs the University of Oregon, Oregon State University and six state colleges—defined "substantial" business as one employing more than fifty persons or having earnings or assets of more than $500,000.

The board's action came after more than six months of student lobbying, including a referendum in which University of Oregon students overwhelmingly favored the sale of South African investments. Students voted as well to ban from the student union job recruiters representing firms with South African interests.

Oregon's decision for divestiture was second in the nation, following that of the University of Massachusetts. Last September, while students held a teach-in on South Africa, University of Massachusetts trustees voted unanimously to sell all stock in companies with South African ties. In December, the university completed sale of about $650,000 worth of stock, representing half the school's total investments.

The University of Wisconsin has also acted to sell its South African investments, but to a more limited extent. Its board of regents voted to sell stock in companies that have 250 or more employees in South Africa and that have not signed the Sullivan statement. By this rule, no more than five companies were affected. The regents voted to sell even that much stock only after Wisconsin Atty. Gen. Bronson La Follette ruled that such investments violate a state law that prohibits the regents from knowingly investing in any company that condones racial discrimination. La Follette's ruling was prompted by a request for an investigation from University of Wisconsin students in Madison.

Amherst College trustees have declared they will not invest in companies whose main operations are in South Africa, and will consider selling stock in any firm that has not signed a pledge against racial discrimination in employment. Smith College sold more than 42,000 shares of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company because, college officials say, Smith trustees did not receive satisfactory answers from the company about its South African activities. And when students at Hampshire College demanded divestiture of that institution's South Africa-

College professors in this country control a potentially powerful force for ending U.S. economic support of apartheid—a force largely overlooked in the campus debate. College teachers belong to two companion pension funds, the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and the College Retirement Equities Fund. TIAA-CREF is one of America's largest institutional investors. Last year TIAA-CREF voted a total of 4.5 million shares against resolutions urging withdrawal from South Africa on the part of General Electric, Ford Motor Company, Texaco and Standard Oil of California. The funds abstained on resolutions asking banks to halt loans to South Africa, but supported calls for nonexpansion of South African investments by Union Carbide and Kennecott Copper.

This year TIAA-CREF has sent a letter to companies in its vast portfolio suggesting that further investment or lending in South Africa at this time is financially unwise, and saying it will vote its stock accordingly. Proponents of shareholders' resolutions on South Africa would welcome a more aggressive anti-apartheid stance on the part of the pension funds. Securities and Exchange Commission rules require that resolutions receive at least 3 percent of the vote in order to appear on ballots again the next year. TIAA-CREF's support of minority resolutions usually insures at least that the issues will be raised again.

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related investments, college trustees went further: they liquidated the whole portfolio, selling all of Hampshire's $200,000 worth of common stock, and awaiting guidelines for "ethical investments" to be developed by a new committee of trustees, faculty and students.

But the campus campaign for anti-apartheid divestitures has not been without its problems. Last year the University of California board of regents rejected, by a vote of 11 to 6, a proposal to sell the university's $500 million worth of stock in companies doing business in South Africa. The stock sale was proposed by California Lieut. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, an ex-officio regent, in response to protests by fifty-eight students who were arrested while occupying the administration building at U.C. Berkeley.

Princeton University's Nassau Hall was recently occupied for more than twenty-four hours by some 200 students protesting the university's South African-related investments. The well-organized sit-in forced the board of trustees meeting at the time to shift their deliberations elsewhere. While student leaders were able to present their case for divestiture to the trustees, the university has refused to change its investment policies.

At Stanford University in May of last year, 300 persons were arrested for holding a peaceful anti-apartheid demonstration during a meeting of the board of trustees. The trustees refused demonstrators' demands for immediate sale of Stanford's $125 million worth of stock in firms in South Africa, maintaining that divestiture would impair the university's return on its investments. Stanford President Richard W. Lyman later told reporters: "One of the things that the private sector in education supposedly doesn't have to do is to yield to political pressures of that kind."

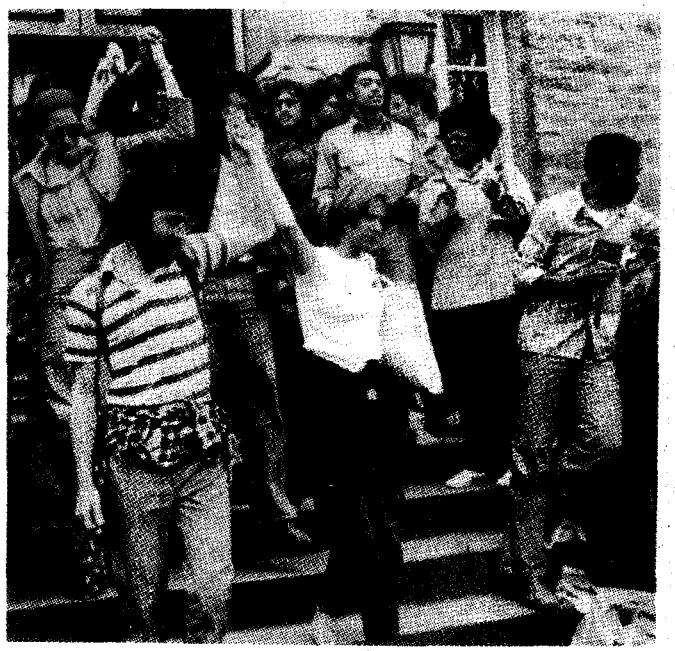
The pressures are aimed at many of America's largest corporations. The list of firms in South Africa reads like the *Fortune* 500: Ford, General Motors, Coca-Cola, Mobil, General Electric, IBM. American banks have outstanding South African loans of at least $2.2 billion. By some accounts, U.S. banks supply as much as one-third of all money borrowed by South African corporations and governmental bodies. Instead of selling stock, some colleges are trying to influence corporate policy by supporting anti-apartheid shareholders' resolutions submitted at annual corporate meetings. Oberlin, Haverford and a few other colleges have for some time supported resolutions condemning South African investments. "On balance," Oberlin explained one such vote, "it was felt that unless corporations took significant action, there would be little to compel the South African Government to liberalize its posture and move toward majority rule." Recently the regents of the University of Illinois said they would vote university stock in favor of shareholders' resolutions proposing to halt further South African investment or to withdraw present investment.

And the University of Minnesota has submitted resolutions asking corporations to endorse the principles of the Sullivan statement: Minnesota has now submitted resolutions to fourteen corporations; ten have been withdrawn after companies agreed to sign the Sullivan statement or said they were in compliance. One firm, Motorola, has agreed to support Minnesota's resolution; Motorola is fighting another resolution, co-sponsored by Haverford College and the Investor Responsibility Research Center, demanding complete withdrawal from South Africa. Though church groups have offered such resolutions in the past, Minnesota is the first university to do so. University President C. Peter Magrath has asked fifty other college and university heads to join in supporting Minnesota's resolution.

"I'm not very enamored of the idea of universities taking positions on social issues," Magrath told the Minnesota board of regents. "But where the university has investments it has a moral responsibility to look at the nature of those investments." Magrath, who had been faced with student demands for complete divestiture of stock, instead proposed and won the regents' approval for a plan to sponsor the resolutions.

The Sullivan statement was developed last year by the Rev. Leon Sullivan, a black minister and member of the General Motors board of directors. More than sixty corporations have signed. But the Sullivan statement, in the eyes of many activists, does not go far enough. It has been criticized as "a relatively easy way out for corporations," the IRRC notes, because the principles "are stated in general terms and do not cover the more controversial issue of recognition of black labor unions." The principles of the statement have been endorsed even by officials of the South African Government.

"Many of the signatories of the principles act in ways that directly assist and strengthen the powers of South Africa's white rulers," says Timothy H. Smith, director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility.



Robert Saunders, Daily Princetonian

Princeton Students Marching Out of Nassau Hall, After Twenty-Seven-Hour Occupation.

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"Citibank has loaned $300 million directly to the South African Government; IBM still provides computers to that government for any purpose, however repressive. Caltex and Mobil are major suppliers of oil to the South African military, and through South Africa they are the oil lifeline to Rhodesia. Union Carbide assists apartheid by investing in and on the borders of Bantustan. Caltex is in the midst of a $134 million expansion that acts as an economic vote of confidence in white South Africa's future. The list goes on."

American industry is well entrenched in South Africa. Indeed, *The New York Times* recently reported U.S. firms there "digging in their heels." Some, like Caltex Petroleum Corporation, owned fifty-fifty by Texaco and Standard Oil of California, are actually expanding their facilities. "We've been there for over fifty years," a General Motors spokesman told the *Times*, "and we plan to be there for a long time to come." G.M. in 1976 sold more than $200 million worth of cars and trucks in South Africa.

And no shareholders' resolution on South Africa, even one merely asking a corporation to sign a modest fair-employment pledge, has ever won more than a handful of votes. According to the IRRC, resolutions last year garnered an average of only 5.67 percent of shareholders' votes. Most large institutional investors obey what is known as the "Wall Street rule" of automatically supporting corporate management on controversial issues.

At last year's General Electric shareholders' meeting, for example, church groups sponsored a resolution directing G.E. to halt further investment in South Africa and to start closing down existing operations there unless the government moves toward granting equal rights to blacks. Less than 2 percent of G.E. shares were cast for the resolution, and voting by universities was mixed, according to an IRRC survey. Haverford and Oberlin favored the resolution, but Dartmouth College and Cornell, Drew and Boston Universities were among those opposing it. Harvard, Princeton, Bryn Mawr, Wellesley, and the University of Minnesota abstained. It should be noted, however, that Bryn Mawr College this year for the first time is sponsoring a resolution demanding that Kodak halt sales of film and equipment to the South African military and government for aerial surveillance of black homelands and for passbooks, the identification system used to control the movement of nonwhites in white areas.

Opponents of economic sanctions against South Africa commonly argue that American firms provide jobs for blacks and set a "progressive" example for South African industry. But for years, at the United Nations and other forums, African states and organizations representing South Africa's 19 million blacks have pleaded for economic sanctions. And as for setting an example, a recent report by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa condemned the "abysmal performance" of most U.S. firms in relation to Pretoria's racial policies. Chairman Sen. Dick Clark (D., Iowa) surveyed U.S. companies operating in South Africa and found that some do not award equal pay for equal work, most do not promote black workers on an equal basis with whites, and not a single company recognizes or negotiates with an African trade union. "Collectively," Clark concluded, "U.S. corporations operating in South Africa have made no significant impact on either relaxing apartheid or in establishing company policies which would offer a limited but nevertheless important model of multinational responsibility."

A more convincing reason for corporations and their investors wanting to remain in South Africa is that doing business there is highly profitable. South Africa imports nearly $2 billion worth of American goods every year, and U.S. Government economists estimate that more than 50,000 American jobs depend on South African trade. Apartheid makes South African investments the more attractive: laws limiting where blacks may live and prohibiting them from holding most nonmenial jobs serve to keep black unemployment high—it is now estimated at 40 percent—and wages low.

And if jobs and profits were not enough, U.S. corporations would have still another reason to continue dealing with South Africa. A wide variety of U.S. industries depend on South Africa as principal supplier of essential industrial metals like chrome, manganese, vanadium and platinum.

"You must have 11.5 percent chrome or you cannot make stainless steel," E.F. Andrews, vice president of Allegheny-Ludlum Industries in Pittsburgh, recently told *The Christian Science Monitor*. "Put economic sanctions on South Africa, and you deny yourself close to 90 percent of the world's supply of chrome, because Rhodesia is already under sanctions." This control of strategic minerals may be a key factor in President Carter's unwillingness thus far to support economic sanctions against South Africa, though he has committed the United States to "strong sanctions" against the sale of arms.

Extricating the country from its economic involvement with South Africa may be far beyond the power of U.S. colleges and universities as investors. Yet, ironically perhaps, the unlikelihood of having much impact was what convinced some members of Oregon's higher education board to sell South Africa-tainted stock.

In voting 8 to 3 for divestiture, the Oregon board overturned the recommendation of its own subcommittee on finance. In fact, two board members who had opposed divestiture in subcommittee changed their minds and voted for it after hearing three hours of testimony from thirty persons—students, faculty members and campus ministers. All spoke in favor of divestiture.

"Divestiture may be impotent," the Rev. Dennis Huneke, of the University of Oregon's campus ministry, told the board. "But it will give one more reason to hope and more reason for South Africans to continue their work for equity and human rights."

Some of those testifying emphasized the political and economic significance of divestiture, but board members said they were swayed by appeals to simple justice. "Hearing the testimony, I realized that this oppression has been going on for ten years and is growing worse instead of better," said board member Gregory Moore, who reversed his earlier position to vote for divestiture.

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"There is no way we can change the southern African minority government by voting our stock. I hate to say it, but I'm voting for divestiture because I feel we are powerless."

Divestiture has been delayed in Oregon by a legal question whether investment decisions belong to the higher education board or to another state agency, the Investment Council. But the campaign in Oregon apparently has already had an effect off campus. A few weeks after the vote by the higher education board, the Portland City Council passed a resolution expressing opposition to South Africa's racial policies and denouncing the advertising and sale of South African Krugerrand gold coins. Portland Mayor Neil Goldschmidt said apartheid "is a crime against a people that can never be justified" and said he wished the council had taken similar action "when my fellow Jews were being murdered in Nazi Germany." □

COTTAGE INDUSTRY TO CONGLOMERATE

PUBLISHING GOES MULTINATIONAL

LEONARD C. LEWIN

Large conglomerates have for several years been buying up publishing complexes. It is now the case that every major mass paperback entity—there are only seven dominant lines left—is owned by a hard-cover publishing house, which is owned in turn by a holding company not usually in the publishing business. There are more and more cross-cultural interlockings: a multinational firm owns one of the five major film distributors and one of the largest publishing houses, which in its *turn owns one of the biggest paperback lines.* This march to publishing oligopoly may soon leave us with a handful of willful giants, like those, for example, in steel. But* this *trend threatens a marketplace that is not simply economic, it is a marketplace of ideas, a bastion of the First Amendment—quite a different matter from silent steel. In the not-so-long run, a very few major publishing houses (and their principal executives) will have the power to decide what books, what art of the word and record of fact, shall or shall not be published in this country.*

—John Hersey, President of the Authors League

If this is indeed what lies ahead for writers of books and for their readers, the prospect is frightening. Among members of the Authors Guild the danger is felt to be so real that the accelerating trend toward mergers and takeovers has been the principal item on the guild's agenda this past year. Last June, the guild issued a detailed statement, describing the trend and the reasons for its concern, and calling on the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission to take action under Section 7 of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. In August the guild made a specific request that Time, Inc. be blocked from acquiring the Book-of-the-Month Club.

Mergers are nothing new among book publishers, and the development of giant conglomerates has been the most conspicuous characteristic of American big business in our time. But it is only in recent years that book publishers have become interesting to the conglomerates; in the past they were considered either too small or inherently without sufficient potential for profit. From time to time one book publisher would take over another, usually one that was in trouble, but in the early 1960s even the biggest houses handled only small percentages of the book market. It would not be much of an exaggeration to describe "trade" publishing—of books for the general reader—as a latter-day cottage industry, with all that this implies, good and bad, about inefficiency, personal management, taste and a great variation in methods of operation. Even now, this is the rule, especially among the small independents, which are still in the majority as companies, although not in the volume of books produced and sold. And profit margins, even for the more successful trade houses, are absurdly low by the standards of the new owners entering the field—general conglomerates like Gulf+Western, ITT and Litton; broadcasters and show-business groups like CBS, RCA (NBC), MCA and Warner Communications; newspaper and magazine publishers, like Time, Inc., the Times Mirror Company and *The New York Times*.

What makes trade-book publishing peculiar as a business is that each product is different. There is no way that a book house can establish a clear brand-name identification with the buyer—it can be done, to be sure, for a dozen or so recognizably best-selling authors, or for established writers in a special area, but not for the publisher. Long-range planning and budgeting toward a reasonably predictable growth in profits is impossible for the pure and simple trade-book house. Its commercial objective is usually to avoid losing more money on its unsuccessful books than can be earned back by a few winners. The profit motive of the traditional "literary" trade publisher has always been diluted—to some degree—by an unbusinesslike desire, or sense of obligation, to publish what he thinks *ought* to be published, even if its commercial prospects are poor.

And this gets harder to do. When manuscripts come along that look like good bets for the commercial winners he needs, he now has to bid for them against competitors who can draw on the "deep pockets" of their conglomerate owners. That may be fine for the authors of such books, but not for other writers, the great majority, who

* These are, respectively, Gulf+Western, Paramount, Simon & Schuster and Pocket Books. —*Editors*

Leonard Lewin is the author of Triage *and* Report from Iron Mountain *(both Dial Press).*

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have produced publishable books about which the small publisher has become, of necessity, increasingly cautious. So, despite the growing number of quasi-independent imprints, of which more later, as a practical matter the commercially marginal author has fewer places to go.

But the big combines are better for such a writer, according to Robert L. Bernstein, president of Random House, because they can *afford* to take more risks. (But *do* they? A rough consensus in the trade suggests that some do, most don't.) Random, along with its subsidiaries —Knopf, Pantheon and Ballantine—all owned by RCA, is often pointed to as a relatively benign conglomerate ownership. The principal editors of the RCA group disavow interference, explicit or indirect, in their editorial decisions by the parent company, although at least one of them is concerned about what he sees as a trend toward "homogenization" of trade-book lists as the attention of corporate managers becomes more routinely and inevitably focused on the profit-and-loss statement.

Some publishers make no bones about being part of a business that is strictly a business. Richard Snyder, the outspoken president of Simon & Schuster, considers the trend toward consolidation both inevitable and desirable, and foresees that, "like the Seven Sisters of the oil business, we will have seven giant publishing companies of varying size. . . . There will always be room for the dynamic publisher like a Roger Straus, or a Pat Knopf, or people like that. But fundamentally, as in the oil business, they are wildcats." He, too, stresses the greater ability and willingness of the large house to gamble on unknown writers and first novels, and, for all his frequent hard-line statements about the virtues of bigness and profitability, also talks about the special social responsibilities of book publishing. But: "In a certain sense we are the software of the television and movie media."

Although it is the control of book publishing by other businesses that has been the focus of concern, the trend to horizontal merger has also been proceeding rapidly. Doubleday, known in the recent past as the biggest of the hard-cover trade publishers, now owns Dell, one of the biggest paperback houses (as well as the Delacorte and Dial hard-cover imprints); it also owns bookstores and operates the largest complex of book clubs, including the Literary Guild. Harper & Row has just acquired Lippincott; last year it took over Thomas Y. Crowell, which had earlier absorbed several smaller houses. Macmillan has for many years been a kind of mini-conglomerate, with subsidiaries manufacturing band instruments and uniforms, operating retail stores, selling correspondence courses and door-to-door encyclopedias, teaching languages, and engaging in other more or less related enterprises. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, instead (so far) of becoming a small part of some show-business combination, has itself taken over amusement parks and gone into broadcasting and other businesses.

Ownership of other big and middling trade houses not earlier identified can be set down quickly. Little, Brown is part of Time, Inc.; CBS owns Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Praeger, Fawcett and Paperback Library; MCA owns G.P. Putnams's Sons and Coward, McCann & Geoghegan; Bobbs-Merrill belongs to ITT; Dutton is part of Elsevier, a large Dutch multinational; Viking is owned by Penguin, Morrow by Scott, Foresman, World by Times Mirror.

In mass-market paperbacks, the concentration is greater. Of the so-called "big seven," Bantam is owned jointly by Bertelsmann of West Germany (the world's largest book publishing conglomerate) and IFI, of the far-flung Italian Agnelli interests; Fawcett by CBS; New American Library by Times Mirror; Warner by the Warner Communications complex; Avon by Hearst; and, as previously noted, Dell by Doubleday and Pocket Books by Gulf+Western. And going beyond these, Popular Library, like Paperback Library, is part of CBS, Berkley of MCA and Ballantine of RCA. That leaves only about 10 percent of this market to the independents.

In a widely quoted 2-page advertisement that appeared in *Publishers Weekly* a year ago, Fawcett and Popular Library trumpeted the advantages of their CBS affiliation, in what may turn out to have been an important indiscretion. The text read, in part: "And now more than ever, Fawcett/Popular Library gets the CBS sell-in, so you'll sell out. . . . NOW THE WHOLE FAWCETT BOOKS GROUP GETS TURNED ONTO THE CBS TREATMENT." The ad is an exhibit in the Authors Guild request for antitrust action; the Department of Justice is said to be "looking into" the CBS purchase of Fawcett. (Similarly, the Federal Trade Commission is reported to be "looking into" *Time*'s purchase of the Book-of-the-Month Club and Harper & Row's of Lippincott.)

In a related case, the announced purchase of the Random House group from RCA by the Times Mirror Co. fell through, in part, because of the latter's expressed concern about potential antitrust action. (This possibility, on the *other* side of the table, is believed by some in the trade to be a reason why RCA was ready to sell its book interests.) It is also "believed in the trade" that another contributing factor in killing the sale was that a number of important editors at Random, etc., fearing excessive interference from the Times Mirror management, had threatened to leave if the deal were consummated.

A related new development in the hitherto relentless advance of the conglomerates on the book publishers is protest from authors whose books have been published by the house under attack. The house now in question is Houghton Mifflin, of Boston, one of the oldest in the country and one of the largest remaining independents. The conglomerate is Western Pacific industries, once known only as the Western Pacific Railroad but now branching out into other fields.

The flurry of letters from Houghton Mifflin authors may be effective because the attempted takeover is still in its early stages—Western Pacific has so far bought only 6.7 percent of H.M.'s outstanding stock—and the conglomerate may be deterred by the prospect of losing some of the firm's best-known and most successful writers. One of the letters was signed jointly by John Kenneth Galbraith, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Archibald MacLeish, Daniel Schorr and Daniel Yergin. They expressed concern about "any step which involves the passage of control, actual or potential, to an outside interest with no academic or literary experience or background and

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no community identification. . . . We feel that a publishing company should be an independent entity, responsible for its own direction."

In a later comment, Galbraith stressed that Houghton Mifflin, as an independent, has been especially close to the Greater Boston/New England community as well as to the general community of authors, a relationship that would be vulnerable to control by distant ownership.

Howard A. Newman, chairman of Western Pacific, charged in *The New York Times* that the protesting authors were "put up to" their letter writing in a "party-line" plot organized by the publisher. Ridiculing Newman's charge, Houghton Mifflin President Harold T. Miller asked: "Can anyone honestly think that I could orchestrate Archibald MacLeish or that I am capable of structuring John Kenneth Galbraith? . . . His attitude shows the lack of understanding about the individuals in publishing that proves what the authors are saying in their letters."

Once concentration in an industry is well underway, it tends to feed on itself, in that as the competitive positions of the remaining independent firms become weaker, the pressure on them to sell becomes greater. Another problem faced by closely held firms is possible forced liquidation to pay estate taxes, and to that must be added the classic situation described last fall in a *Publishers Weekly* story on E.P. Dutton. The fact that Dutton had been growing and doing relatively well in the early 1970s —and thus required more working capital—simply increased the pressure to sell. Not many of the independent publishers are free of one or more such pressures.

Most of those who minimize the concerns expressed by Hersey and the Authors Guild point to the continued development of the independent "name" imprint. Typically, an experienced and successful editor sets up a small publishing operation, with very little capital but with an arrangement whereby an established house handles production and distribution and may put up working capital as well. Names that come to mind are Thomas Congdon, James Silberman, Henry Robbins and Richard Marek. Marek, discussing in *The New York Times Book Review* the greater autonomy he has now than when he was editor in chief at Dial (part of Doubleday-Dell), interpreted the trend toward fewer and bigger houses as meaning that fewer minds are actually deciding what gets published. But this counter-trend toward one-man imprints, which is likely to continue as long as it is advantageous for the distributing publisher, is insignificant in the face of the conglomerates, according to Irwin Karp, counsel for the Authors Guild. The competitive position of these operations is, if anything, even weaker than that of the established independent publishers, since it stands at an additional remove from the market.

Roger W. Straus, Jr., of Farrar, Straus & Giroux, the most vocal of the anti-merger trade-house executives, recently fired off an angry mailgram to the Association of American Publishers (FS&G later resigned its membership) which had issued a statement intended to refute the Authors Guild indictment. The AAP, offering data to show that mergers and acquisitions have had "little or no effect on competition or concentration," had evidently not sought agreement among its members' conflicting interests before going to press. (Without impugning the AAP statistics, I will not deal with them here, since they are not sufficiently up to date, nor sufficiently detailed in certain critical respects, adequately to address the guild's concerns.)

The difficulties of the independents serve as a reminder that trade publishing is, along with its other functions, a business, and that publishers must profit or perish. No publisher—or writer, or artist, or anyone else, as things are—can avoid that fact of life, whatever his other aspirations may be. Publishing's relatively new big-business suit seems inappropriate to those accustomed to seeing it in the garb of patron of the arts. The question raised is whether more than a change of clothing is involved.

In its opposition to the Time, Inc. purchase of the Book-of-the-Month Club, the guild points out the cost advantages that the BOMC will now have in advertising in Time's magazines and the edge that Little, Brown titles may have in the competition for designation as books-of-the-month. But the same situation has obtained for a long time between Doubleday and its many book clubs, and the amount of advertising space available to New York Times Books is evident to any reader of the *Times*. The Fawcett-CBS ad cited earlier differed only in its candor, or brazenness, depending on how you look at it. This is not to say that the BOMC will in fact begin to favor Little, Brown titles, or that Doubleday's clubs necessarily favor Doubleday titles, but that they *can*—and that this is dirty pool, as defined by the Clayton Act.

But raising this question brings out a conflict-of-interest abuse that has existed in book publishing ever since there has been *any* common ownership of hard-cover and paperback houses. In what has been the standard contract, the hard-cover publisher not only shares the writer's income from subsequent paperback publication but controls the *disposition* of the paperback rights. The original publisher *can*, even if in fact he does not, sell paperback rights to his own subsidiary for less than he might have received elsewhere in a bonafide "arm's-length" transaction. That is dirty pool by any definition; in general business and tax circles it is called a "wash sale." It is possible that, for writers, one beneficial side effect of the current controversy will be the legal enjoining of publishers from this practice: i.e., preventing hard-cover houses that own paperback subsidiaries or book clubs, or that are owned by magazines or newspapers, from controlling the licensing of related rights—and eventually removing the sale of the many "secondary" rights to a writer's work from the original contract.

In commenting on these possible abuses, and on the increasing bottom-line orientation of the bigger publishing complexes, I do not mean to suggest that most trade editors and publishers have no interest in the books they publish other than their dollar value; they do. Or that wash sales and collusive bidding are the rule; they are not. The principal grievance of most writers against most publishers centers on their typical lack of effort in selling books not pegged in advance for best-sellerdom.

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Conglomeratization has made it worse, as a matter of degree; bigger money available for "bigger" books means that a bigger effort is required to recoup it. Accordingly, proportionately less money, time and interest are left over for the rest of the list. The "big book syndrome," as it is called, worries many editors, including those employed by the conglomerates that have intensified it.

Concern over the impact of concentration of ownership on writers and on independent publishers may appear to be parochial, sentimental or unrealistic, the expression of private interests. In the simply economic sense that is true but, as Hersey pointed out, a much broader public interest is involved. The printed word is not just another type of consumer goods, susceptible to the conventional constraints of supply and demand and regulation. To the extent that markets for writers become smaller, and that the commercially marginal book becomes less publishable, the choice of readers becomes more and more constricted. It has already happened in other businesses that trade in words and thoughts and opinions; most are dominated by a relatively small group of large companies. In book publishing, the point of no return has not yet been reached; new titles continue to proliferate. But this may be, as the AAP acknowledges, because of the "dramatic expansion" of the market as a whole in recent years; in harder times it may be a very different story. And the growth and influence of the book retailing chains intensifies the pursuit of the "big book" to the exclusion of others.

Gulf+Western, ITT and the others have not chosen, or have not found it politic, to involve themselves in editorial policy, but there can be no assurance that they won't do so in the future. To conjure up the specter of big-business control of book publishing may be alarmist—there are still and will remain a large number of independent publishers with independent ideas, and new ones will surely emerge. But it is again a matter of degree, and the example of radio and television is cautionary. In this country it has long been the fact that broadcasting, as a medium of ideas, must conform to its principal function as a medium of commerce. And public television—the most visible countervailing force to this long-standing corruption of the medium—remains largely dependent on the good will of corporate underwriters. It is by no means alarmist to envision, with increasing conglomerate takeovers, a situation in which such companies control the overwhelming majority of books available to readers—again, not the whole choice but the effective choice, as with television. Is it beyond belief that most of the books in the rack a few years hence may be chosen for you, like television programs, by Mobil, Exxon and the rest? □

LETTERS (Continued from page 554)

Schwartz's claim that civil liberties opponents of the bill are objecting to provisions in current law, the Senate Report on S.1437 makes it clear that many crimes which threaten the exercise of First Amendment freedoms would be created or expanded by the 682-page bill. These include *Obstructing a Government Function by Fraud, Obstructing a Government Function by Physical Interference, Hindering Law Enforcement, Obstructing a Proceeding by Disorderly Conduct, Making a False Statement, Revealing Private Information, Extortion, Disseminating Obscene Material, Failing to Obey a Public Safety Order, Liability of an Accomplice,* and *Engaging in a Riot.* Many of these sections would not only broaden current law but would depart from recommendations of the National Commission to Reform the Criminal Law (the "Brown Commission"). H.R.6869 would also effect a great expansion of federal criminal law by establishing for the first time that all but a few federal crimes and misdemeanors could be prosecuted as *attempt, conspiracy, or solicitation* without the underlying offense having been completed. . . .

Beyond this expansion of criminal law, the scope of federal law-enforcement powers would be greatly broadened by the enactment of H.R.6869. This would be accomplished through the creation of new jurisdictional bases for federal prosecution—for example, by "federalizing" a crime on the basis of its commission in connection with another federal crime, pre-empting state jurisdiction over certain political offenses, and pressing interstate commerce as a broad justification for federal jurisdiction. While this may not directly affect civil liberties, the expansion of federal police power without a showing of compelling government interest would be a dangerous constitutional development.

Another damaging aspect of the bill is that in at least two ways it would erode Sixth Amendment rights by reducing the role of juries in trying criminal cases. First, jurisdiction would be eliminated as an element of the offense and would therefore be determined by the judge rather than the jury. Second, other important fact issues would be eliminated as elements of the offenses and reduced to "grading" questions. For example, the new offense of obstructing a government function by physical interference is a misdemeanor unless the offense was committed in the course of constitutionally protected activity, was nonviolent and did not "significantly obstruct or impair" a government function—in which case it is only an infraction. Here again, the judge, not the jury, would determine these critical facts issues. . . .

In section after section, the bill either creates new law, broadens existing law, or erodes various procedural protections for defendants. It invites abuse by law-enforcement officials and prosecutors and raises serious questions of due process and notice. . . .

H.R.6869 would create or expand many crimes affecting the exericse of constitutional rights. Most of these would have the effect of giving the government new protections against political dissent. For example, a person would be guilty of an offense "if he *intentionally obstructs or impairs a government function by defrauding the government*" in any manner. . . .

Another new crime makes "physical interference" with federal government functions a felony, covering any obstruction or impairing of "the performance by a federal public servant of an official duty." Under the sweeping terms of this provision it would be up to the prosecutor to determine whether a large demonstration on federal grounds or near federal buildings was or was not "physically interfering" with the performance by a federal public servant of an official duty. . . .

How far, then, have we progressed since S.1? The answer compelled by H.R.6869 is "some but not much." In the final analysis H.R.6869 is in many ways disturbingly similar to S.1 with a few, albeit important, changes. The "official secrets" sections have been eliminated, as has the "Nuremberg defense" for official action, and the broad death penalty provision. The insanity and entrapment defenses have been restored. . . . In numerous other ways S.1

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would have severely damaged civil liberties through provisions which remain intact in H.R.6869. . . . The choice facing Congress is whether, for the sake of streamlining the criminal law, it will compromise civil liberties or will finally begin the process of real reform.

John H.F. Shattuck
Director, American Civil Liberties Union

New York City
In the exchange between Anthony Lewis and Thomas Emerson there is minimal comment on the sentencing provisions in S.1437. Thomas Emerson says, without explanation, that the "penalty, sentencing, probation and parole provisions . . . are now hopelessly retrogressive."

The remarks of Senator Kennedy published in the *Congressional Record* state affirmatively that under the proposed law, "the gross disparities in sentencing found in current law should be significantly reduced." As a lawyer concerned with the defense in criminal cases . . . I find the proposals contained in S.1437 a horror.

It has been observed universally that throughout the federal system (state as well) there is disparity in sentencing. One federal judge may give a bank robber the maximum sentence of twenty-five years; another may give probation, and neither need ever explain. Nor may the defendant protest appeal so long as the sentences are within the range authorized by law.

It may accordingly seem reasonable that a proposal be made to provide for a sentencing commission which will establish "guidelines" and standards for sentencing and to provide a system for appeal by both prosecutor and defendant of sentences that do not conform to the standards. . . . My disagreement with the sentencing provisions of S.1437 is predicated on what I perceive to be its practical application. I find nothing wrong with a commission to study the whole subject of sentencing; to ask the question, what does our society deem desirable as punishment for certain crimes and to what purpose does it want those crimes punished? Further that commission may inquire into whether or not a penalty is a deterrence to future crime or whether or not a penalty can have a rehabilitative effect. These issues should be explored and reported on. Until, however, we have the study and report of such a commission, it should not be empowered to set up guidelines which will have the effect of law. . . .

As set up, the sentencing provisions of S.1437 will provide for mandatory minimum sentences; for long maximum sentences. Yet the guidelines are not yet established and we do not know exactly what they will provide. . . . Appeals may be brought by either defendant or prosecutor, predicated only on deviation from the guidelines.

The effect of this will be

(1) Mandatory minimum sentences, coupled with the possibility of appeal by the prosecutor, will result in plea bargaining before the charges are brought. This gives the prosecutor a more important role than he has at the present time and emphasizes the power he has *ab initio* to decide whether a crime has taken place and also what crime and how serious. This creates pressure on the defendant to confess to nonexistent crimes in the hope that the charge (and/or penalty) will be reduced or to inform against others.

(2) Judges will give longer rather than shorter sentences since that will lead to less criticism and also since the urge to be merciful or to exercise discretion in favor of the defendant (at present unreviewable) could be reversed on appeal. . . .

This is written against the background that today some federal judges are "tough sentencers" and a defendant before that judge has no recourse if he has been given the maximum sentence under the law, even when there are mitigating circumstances. . . . Nonetheless, I feel that the guidelines to be set up under S.1437 will not remedy this situation. Instead these guidelines will create a pressure on the judges to increase all sentences so that the favored few who might today through effective advocacy or a merciful judge receive a lesser sentence "will tomorrow uniformly receive a greater sentence." . . .

Eleanor Jackson Piel

Cheyenne, Wyo.
The complete text of S.1437 runs to nearly 700 pages. I sent for a copy and received a 382-page version from Senator Hansen. I believe that this is the version that has routinely been sent to people who request a copy. Nothing is said about its being a shortened version; and according to Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, many of the bill's repressive features are in the half that citizens don't get. And I don't think most Senators got the complete version either. So they didn't know what they were voting on. . . .

Clifford M. Turner

Skokie: The Extreme Test (*The Nation*, April 15)

Baltimore, Md.
Much as I don't like the idea, hate the Fascists and all their work, I am forced to agree with Carl Cohen and his defense of "The Right to Be Offensive." Having done my share of marching and a good deal of letter writing against the war in Vietnam, it is very difficult for me to be against the Nazi march in Skokie.

It is the supreme test for libertarians and, much as it hurts to say it, as long as the march is peaceful there is no way that those of us who preach democracy for everyone with so much fervor . . . can forbid it and still advertise ourselves and this country as the main bulwark of the Western world's liberty.

We know that the Nazi march in Skokie is being held in the hope of causing trouble; its mere announcement has caused disquiet. But we can lessen the danger by deciding not to cause any eruptions and seeing to it that the police hold the "born-again" Hitlerites to the same strict conduct.

Even knowing in advance that our course is dangerous, if we believe in democracy we must stay with it or give up our trust in this form of government.

Henry Nordin

Cherry Hill, N.J.
Carl Cohen did not convince me. I am for free speech but not when it is for those who would prevent me from having the same privilege and not in a case like this, where it is a deliberate provocation.

Louis Lazarus

Missoula, Mont.
The fundamental flaw in Carl Cohen's well-written article defending the ACLU's stand in the Skokie situation is that the freedom to demonstrate (which in one way or another is related to the First Amendment) is an *absolute*. I emphatically maintain that it is *not* an absolute. . . .

Cohen implies that . . . maybe—just maybe—if we allow absolute free speech and absolute right of assembly, etc.—we may in due course discover that some movement which is now "minority and unpopular" will actually sometime help us find solutions to the manifold problems which confront us. My answer (further) is that social psychologists, et al. have gathered ample evidence that given the right circumstances (such as another major depression, for instance) we could very easily find ourselves in a situation where absolutist-type movements such as the Nazis, could quite easily take over.

I admire Carl Cohen's idealistic stance . . . , but I think he is wrong!

William H. Fisher, Professor
History and Philosophy of Education
University of Montana

Berkeley, Calif.
Narrow legalism emerges triumphant from Carl Cohen's recent article in which he supports Nazi rights to free

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speech in Skokie. Mr. Cohen successfully separates the past from the present, equates the advocacy of genocide with political debate, and offers a chilling preview of a utopian society in which First Amendment freedoms are the only categorical imperatives.

Cohen finds no line of demarcation beyond which a group could proceed without suspension of its legal rights. How could we then sanction, he implies, other groups which other people find equally offensive? I believe a morally and legally defensible distinction emerges between those who have advocated genocide as their essential answer to all social problems, have systematically practiced genocide when in power, and still continue to advocate genocide, and those groups for whom genocide is not their fundamental or implied reason for existence and who do not link themselves in any way to those who have practiced or currently advocate genocide. . . .

The ultimate question . . . is whether we owe our loyalties to such a strict interpretation of the First Amendment or to the more fundamental belief that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are inalienable rights?

David Lee Lockard

San Francisco, Calif.

. . . Carl Cohen's article helps us all to understand the issues and our own emotions and to become better people.

Rachel Ellis

Chicago, Ill.

I have just finished reading Carl Cohen's article. . . . I've been following the Skokie situation since it began last year, and although I've read some excellent pieces on the subject, this is easily the best. Thank you for a superb article.

David Martindale

battle of words

Pennington, N.J.

Mark Crispin Miller's vicious diatribe against my book *Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in the American Film* [*The Nation*, Apr. 22] is a crass example of that well-known school of falsification which selects fragments of passages and completes them outside quotation marks to sustain a thesis which is his alone.

He also dabbles in outright untruth:

> By attributing the rise of "misogyny" to a certain kind of film hero, she underestimates the extent to which sexism inheres in our culture. The causes of sexism are old and complex, most of them predating the development of cinema.

Mr. Miller's statement that I ascribe male dominance to the advent of cinema is as false as it is fatuous. I write on page 6:

> The authoritarian male who would be a strong and comforting father to us all resembles the patriarchal god of the Old Testament, just as the suspicion of women as dangerous to the sexuality of men is enshrined in the oldest male recorded documents of our civilization. As the Book of Proverbs cautions "Give not thy strength unto women." (31:3.)

Mr. Miller further asserts:

> Lacking time for the requisite reading, Mellen might at least have asked herself just what "masculinity" means. *Not once* in *Big Bad Wolves* is this term subjected to scrutiny . . . (*emphasis added*).

Mr. Miller is shameless: On page 7 I write:

> As every culture has norms and dominant values defining what is "masculine" and "feminine" our films have been made in the service of quite specific images and ideals of manliness.

I compare the cultural norms in America with those of other cultures:

> . . . Among such peoples as the gentle Arapesh of the South Seas, as pointed out by Margaret Mead, a man who is aggressive is shunned by all as disturbed and deviant.

Mr. Miller, with startling unoriginality accuses me of a "conspiracy theory of popular culture" and then omits the extended quote I cite from Will Hays on behalf of the Production Code for the Motion Picture Industry concerning values to be "foster[ed]" in film (pages 71-73, 77).

There are no less than fifteen statements in Mr. Miller's review which are bald inventions. Your readers are entitled to minimum standards of intellectual probity.

Joan Mellen

Philadelphia, Pa.

"The cool and impossible demand that real-life men live up to a super-*macho* image or fail to be considered masculine has fostered misogyny in our culture" (*Big Bad Wolves*, p. 311). Here Mellen is explicitly "attributing the rise of 'misogyny' to a certain kind of film hero," as she does implicitly throughout her book. Her acquaintance with Holy Writ does not alter this fact. I must be dense as well as "shameless," because I detect no scrutiny of the term "masculinity" in that sentence from page 7, nor do I see anything illuminating in Mellen's endorsement of "the gentle Arapesh."

On the other hand, I find the reference to the Will Hays passage quite helpful, since it further corroborates my point: in the 1930s, writes Mellen, "the conception of the hero was deeply influenced by what men like Hays, prominent both in the film industry and in government, decreed was most likely to convince the audience not to look too deeply into the causes of the economic collapse, let alone seek a remedy" (p. 73). This obviously bespeaks a "conspiracy theory of popular culture," which phrase Mellen did not pause to comprehend before drafting her eloquent letter.

Finally, Mellen claims to have in her hand no fewer than fifteen "bald inventions," and with this sinister allusion would impugn my integrity. It is an old trick, and not intimidating. I believe that I read *Big Bad Wolves* more carefully than Mellen herself did, and I find her vicious diatribe as insulting as it is pointless. I challenge her to name a single instance of misrepresentation in my review.

Mark Crispin Miller

fear of psychosurgery

New York City

It is regrettable that in his review of my book *The Mind Stealers* Andrew Scull [*The Nation*, Apr. 22] would be so irresponsible as to accuse me of trying to "scare" people and raising "red herrings" concerning "mass mind control" via psychosurgery. The fact is that passivity and compliance can be achieved by destruction of brain cells. That is what psychosurgery is all about. As for the potentials of psychosurgery as a weapon for mass control, this question was put by Sen. Edward Kennedy a few years ago to Dr. Bertram Brown, director of the National Institutes of Health. Brown replied: "Yes, I can picture scenarios under certain kinds of . . . authoritarian . . . situations where it [psychosurgery] could be used for such purposes. I think it would be dreadful and un-American."

I readily admit that such prospects scare me and other people. Among those who share my fears is the Congressional Black Caucus which recently wrote to Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Califano urging him to reject the National Commission proposals to have the government fund psychosurgical experimentation. "Our concern," the caucus letter said, "is that despite the safeguards included in the commission report, Blacks, the poor, the young and social and political activists may fall prey to this operation which 'murders the mind.'" So much for "red herrings."

Samuel Chavkin

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Riches of Cultural Disarray

DEFENSES OF THE IMAGINATION: Jewish Writers and Modern Historical Crisis. *By Robert Alter. The Jewish Publication Society of America. 262 pp. $8.50.*

MARK SHECHNER

For broad appeal, literary criticism has rarely been a hot item, and as for Judaica, it usually finds its way to the Barnes and Noble sale annex quicker than other perishables. Throw the two together in the same book and the prospects for serious consideration are, normally, worse than bleak. Indeed, ten years ago a collection of critical essays like Robert Alter's *Defenses of the Imagination* would have fallen dead from the presses. But in the ethnically enriched climate of the late 1970s such a book is not so easily consigned to oblivion, nor should it be, for it addresses questions to Jewish self-definition that are now so very prominent and troubling to American Jews. It is not, however, an excursion into nostalgia in which the average Jew is likely to find a cherished memento of his own family romance like Howe's *World of Our Fathers* and its many progeny. Though similarly aimed at recovering lost cultural materials, it is a more specialized book tuned to the needs of a uniquely troubled group: those literary intellectuals and university professors who have lately experienced the tension between their own heightened Jewish self-awareness and the ideologies of Arnoldian indifference and self-transcendence that prevail in their professions.

In the universities, these days, courses on Jewish literature, history and consciousness are proliferating as a result of student demand and a momentary relaxation of professorial embarrassment. Scholars who had previously devoted their researches to the literary monuments of British culture are being pressed into service as instant Jewishists or, as is normally the case, Jewish-Americanists, experts in the Lower East Side and its cultural legacy. This is step two of the academic naturalization of the Jews; step one was letting them in. So far this is largely a back-door operation, relying heavily on Irving Howe for history and interpretation, Abraham Cahan, Henry Roth and Saul Bellow for canonical texts, and volunteer labor for instructional personnel. But the underlying shift in self-perception, though fraught with confusion, is widespread and beginning to take curricular shape. Students of literature, for whom French and Latin were once *de rigueur*, are now turning to Yiddish and Hebrew as second languages and recognizing the YIVO Institute and New York Public Library for the great scholarly resources they are, where once they dreamed only of the Folger or British Museum.

But as anyone knows who has endeavored to reclaim his Jewishness and turn it to intellectual account, Jewish self-definition is no easy matter. One isn't born again as a Jew the way one is as a Baptist; revelation is less to the point than study, and one approaches Jewish culture only to encounter the variety of its traditions and histories and the necessity of making choices: for declaring a specialty. Like Howe, one can pursue one's familial links to the culture of Yiddishkeit and its historical provenance in the ghettos and *shtetls* of Eastern Europe. That is a natural line of investigation, since the majority of American Jews descend from Yiddish-speaking *Ostjuden*, and also because the conventions of Yiddishkeit feed directly into Jewish-American literature, so that writers like Bellow, Roth and Malamud can seem at times like America's contribution to the last flowering of Yiddish literature. But there is also the rich and varied bourgeois and "assimilated" Jewish culture of *Mitteleuropa* that gave us Marx, Freud and Kafka, and had far less affinity to Yiddishkeit than to the modern and secular culture of post-Enlightenment Europe. And there is Israel, with a literary and linguistic history quite its own. And, of course, there is the religion: the beliefs, the strict and elaborate ethical codes, and the rituals, as defined in the Torah, the Talmud and its vast train of commentaries, and the Shulhan Arukh, without which the Jews are at best a far-flung and decomposed family of tribes —like the Celts—whose kinship is an illusion of nomenclature and of oppressors shared in common. To draw close to Jewish culture is to see its international, multilingual diversity, the variety of its beliefs and practices, and a religious history so schismatic and tumultuous that, if we are to believe the historian Gershom Scholem, the Jews have forgotten or repressed some of its most trying and spectacular moments.

To draw up an agenda of study, then, we need guides, and Robert Alter deserves to be one of them. Not because Alter presents a fully articulated picture of Jewish culture but because he is at ease with, and even a partisan of, Jewish pluralism. He believes, with Scholem, " 'There is no way of telling *a priori* what beliefs are possible or impossible within the framework of Judaism. . . . The "Jewishness" in the religiosity of any particular period is not measured by dogmatic criteria that are unrelated to actual historical circumstances, but solely by what sincere Jews do, in fact, believe, or—at least—consider to be legitimate possibilities.' " That makes him a pragmatist of culture as well as an enthusiast of permutation who writes of Jewishness as though it were an adventure that is still unfolding, rather than an achieved body of dogmas and legends.

That may explain his method of testing his views of Jewishness after the manner of Scholem himself, by seeking out its limiting cases and then arguing for their centrality. Scholem, of course, has done that brilliantly with Jewish mysticism, documenting how an apparently marginal and aberrant line of religious thought has in fact been at times from the 12th through the 19th centuries the very mainstream of the Jewish religion. Alter's test cases in this book are Osip Mandelstam, the Russian-Jewish poet who was nominally Lutheran (it was a conversion of convenience) and began his career thinking of himself as a vestigial Jew; Walter Benjamin, the German critic whose Jewishness had no outstanding doctrinal components (though he was a Zionist) and thus seemed to Hannah Arendt largely a source of "an energy of disengagement," and Scholem himself, the scholar in revolt against traditional lore, whose studies have complicated Jewish historiography by demonstrating just how protean and schismatic the religious history of the Jews has really been. Though other writers figure prominently in these essays, including Hermann

Mark Shechner teaches in the Department of English of the State University of New York at Buffalo.

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Broch, Israeli novelists S.Y. Agnon and Amos Oz, Israeli poets Uri Zvi Greenberg and H.N. Bialik, and the American poet Charles Reznikoff, it is Mandelstam, Benjamin and and Scholem who emerge as Alter's exemplary cases, who confirm a tradition by illustrating how supple and far-ranging "Jewish" thought may be.

Mandelstam and Benjamin were writers *in extremis*, literally under the gun, the one dying in a Soviet prison camp in 1938, the other a suicide in France in 1940, after having been barred from entering Spain in his flight from the Nazis. But it is not their victimization that Alter calls attention to, though that is what unites them with the fate of Europe's Jews and makes them symbolic of it, but the commitment to thought and imagination up to the very end. Nadezhda Mandelstam, her husband's memoirist and the person to whom we owe most of our knowledge of Osip Mandelstam, recounts a story told of her husband in a prison camp in Vladivostok, reciting his poems to a gang of nonpolitical prisoners, that is, criminals. " 'The criminals offered him bread and the canned stuff, and he calmly helped himself and ate. . . . He was listened to in complete silence and sometimes asked to repeat a poem.' " Of Benjamin, we are informed by his friend Scholem, " '[He] could not bring himself to leave Europe for Palestine, even at the eleventh hour, [for] he could not abandon his work at the Bibliothèque Nationale on the book he would never complete, *Paris, Capital of the 19th Century.*' " These arresting images suggest the core of Alter's concept of heroism: a fierce commitment to thought and imagination, conceived as a realm apart from politics and even from impending disaster. Faced with his own imminent extinction, the intellectual hero presses on with the business of thinking, writing and communicating.

Alter writes in defense of the imagination because he holds the imagination to be the last line of defense against the dehumanizing trends of modern history, and writers are heroes because they conserve their humanity in extreme situations: Mandelstam recites poetry to the very end; Benjamin is glued to his desk at the Bibliothèque Nationale; Hermann Broch completes *The Sleepwalkers* in Austria on the eve of Hitler's ascent to power, and, after a brief imprisonment in 1938, begins work on *The Death of Virgil*, a novel of pure ideas whose apparent relevance to contemporary politics is tangential at best. But not so, insists Alter, for the vivid inner life is itself subversive and therefore relevant because it challenges totalitarianism at the very source of its power, which is the power to enter the mind and compel assent from within.

Now, there is nothing uniquely Jewish about the inner life, and Alter cites the example of Vladimir Nabokov, especially in such books as *Invitation to a Beheading* and *Bend Sinister*, as promoting the idea of a rich interiority as the indivdual's response to the forces that are poised to crush him. "I would contend that . . . his art-centered literary enterprise must finally be seen as a rescue operation on behalf of human consciousness in a world variously contrived to obliterate such consciousness." But it is because Jews have faced history *in extremis* so often that the principle of imaginative resistance becomes a focal point of Jewish identity. Thus, the proposition that Mandelstam "did not believe in Judaism or Christianity: he believed in poetry" describes an imaginatively integrated Jewishness deeply interfused with the personality beneath the level of consciously held belief. However marginal his connection to the community of Jews, or to doctrinal Judaism, his faith in the book as a defense of dignity identifies him. Like Benjamin and Broch, Mandelstam treats the book as sacramental, even though its imaginative and cultural contents are of his own devising. Doctrinally uncommitted, these writers are unconsciously orthodox. In praising Benjamin, Alter invokes the Talmudic injunction, "Even in the hour of death you should devote yourself to the study of the Law," and observes that "the statement could serve as an apt image of Benjamin in his last years."

> His writing . . . implicity affirms the ultimate importance of the kind of "study" he had set as his lifework, and its radiant serenity derives in part from that affirmation, made as it is by an extraordinarily supple and original mind confidently aware of its own powers even when delineating the dimensions of chaos.

By making books in general the heart of one's conception of Jewishness in place of the doctrinal books which, until Scholem, we *thought* were the first principles of Jewish identity, Alter allows for Jewish identities more various, extreme, and even heterodox than received notions will allow. He even appears to surpass Scholem in admitting secular Jewishness as a fully integrated portion of the tradition, and saves us the usual lament about the secular Jew as a deteriorated remnant who prefigures the imminent death of the entire culture. Benjamin and Mandelstam are precisely the sorts of intellectuals Jewishness as secular culture is likely to produce: men in whom the sense of doctrine is vestigial and the appeal of ritual nonexistent, but for whom the influence of Judaism as intellecutal culture is deep and potent.

Alter appears then to argue that the vitality of Jewish culture and thought draws upon, may even depend upon, ambivalence, biculturalism, and heterodoxy, and that upheavals in consciousness, like the eruptions of mysticism Scholem has unearthed, are authentic efforts at revival, rather than terminal spasms.

We may guess that such attitudes toward Judaism imply a politics, and those who are unfamiliar with Alter's work but observe that he is a contributing editor of *Commentary*, where most of these essays were first published, may suppose that the politics of *Commentary* are latent in his literary attitudes. But that happens not to be so, since the explicit politics of this book is that of the imagination, not of power or social organization, and hence does not observe the tedious polarities of Left and Right. If it is a conservative politics at all, it is conservative after the example of Lionel Trilling, whom Alter admires, in that it commends intellectual "variousness and possibility," plenitude and depth. In other words, there is no point in trying to comprehend it by a vocabulary of liberalism and conservatism. Though Alter's involvement with Jewish, and especially Israeli, literature makes *Commentary* the logical vehicle for his thought, his range, subtlety and fairness distinguish his work from the literary attitudes that prevail elsewhere in that magazine. In an atmosphere marked by rancor and tendentiousness he treats his subjects with a scholarly impassivity that calls to mind *Commentary*'s original and largely abandoned promise: to be a forum for ideas by and about Jews pitched at the highest level, and within the framework of the cosmopolitan tradition.

Alter's politics of variousness, which is a cosmopolitan politics, does point to an inevitable conclusion, which he draws in his own calm and lucid fashion: that cultural disarray can be looked upon as an advantage, a respite from tradition that gives us room to reimagine and revitalize the tradition, and to examine tendencies at the farthest reaches of the culture that may prove to be instructive about values at the center. □

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Only Kidding, Folks?

KURT VONNEGUT

Stanislaw Lem of Cracow, born in 1921, is one of the most popular science-fiction writers in the world. Seven of his thirty or more books are available in American editions. He is among other things a physician. The American futurologist Alvin Toffler admires him, has visited him in Poland, and he tells me that Dr. Lem drives a Mercedes. So do I. Peace.

Leslie Fiedler finds him "tremendously amusing," Gherman Titov, the Russian cosmonaut, finds him "fantastically humorous," Ursula K. LeGuin finds him "zany," and so on. I myself find him a master of utterly terminal pessimism, appalled by all that an insane humanity may yet survive to do.

We are pollution.

He wants us to feel no pity for Homo sapiens, and so excludes appealing women and children from his tales. The adult males he shows us are variously bald, arthritic, sharp-kneed, squinting, jowly, rotten toothed, and so on, and surely ludicrous—save for his space crewmen, who are as expendable as pawns in a chess game. We do not get to know anybody well enough to like him. If he dies, he dies.

Nowhere in the works of Jonathan Swift, even, can I find a more loathsome description of a human being than this one, taken from Lem's "Prince Ferrix and the Princess Crystal," one of a dozen fables for the Cybernetic Age in his *The Cyberiad* (Warsaw, 1967): "Its every step was like the overflowing of marshy vats, its face was like a scummy well; from its rotten breath the mirrors all covered over with a blind mist. When it spoke, it was as if a pink worm tried to squirm from its maw."

Granted: This opinion is supposedly held by a robot made of metal. But it was in fact written by a man who has presumably taken the oath of Hippocrates, a sworn treasurer of human life, and he gives me no reason in this or any other story I have read to feel regret when a human being is killed. The one in this particular fable is butchered and stuffed by the robots, and put into a museum.

I do not think Lem would have as many readers as he does, including a boundlessly optimistic cosmonaut, if he did not go to such lengths to say, in effect, what bitter night club comics often say: "Only kidding, folks." When he predicts that our reason will soon be destroyed by mind-altering chemicals in careless hands (*The Futurological Congress*, Warsaw, 1971), or that many of our descendants will be spies or spy hunters in an underground Pentagon which has lost touch with the outside world (*Memoirs Found in a Bathtub*, Warsaw, 1971), or that, when we venture into space, we will become destroyers of all we cannot understand (*The Invincible*, Warsaw, 1967) or that our machines will soon be more intelligent and honorable than we are (the theme of tale after tale), he must be kidding, since, as LeGuin says, he is so "zany" all the time. I am moved to suspect now that most of our finest humorists, including Mark Twain, may have been not especially funny people who painstakingly learned their clowning only in order to seem insincere when speaking dismally of the future of mankind.

Yes, and as luck would have it, I have this very morning received a letter from my son Mark, a writer now completing his third year at Harvard Medical School. He says that it is a bad time for anybody's writing just now, that the spirit in the air is this: "We're destroying the planet. There's not a damn thing that can be done about it. It's going to be very slow, drawn-out and ugly, or so fast it doesn't make any difference."

So we can expect to have many more tremendously amusing writers like Stanislaw Lem. Few will be his peers in poetic exposition, in word play, and imaginative and sophisticated sympathy with machines.

A technical matter to be dealt with here: It is absolutely impossible to write a good story that does not have at least one sane and respectable character in it, someone the reader can trust. Lem gets away with such stories again and again, seemingly but not really, for he himself is never invisible. He himself is that solid character without whose presence we would not read on.

He is also no robot. So I will guess that he is at his funniest when he has looked so hard and long at hopelessness that he is at last exhausted, and is seized by convulsions of laughter that threaten to tear him to pieces. It was during such a fit that he wrote *The Futurological Congress*, I am sure—a book I have sent to Toffler, incidentally. He has not read it yet. And anyone wanting to sample Lem, hoping to like him, should probably start with that book. The hotel sheltering the congress is reduced to gravel by rioters and police, and the surviving futurologists wind up with the hotel staff in a sewer.

Laffs aplenty. Why not? □

Books by Stanislaw Lem*

THE CYBERIAD. Seabury Press. 295 pp. $9.50. Avon, paper $1.50.

THE INVINCIBLE. Seabury Press. 183 pp. $7.95. Ace, paper $1.50.

THE FUTUROLOGICAL CONGRESS. Seabury Press. 149 pp. $6.95. Avon, paper $1.50.

THE INVESTIGATION. Seabury Press. 216 pp. $7.95. Avon, paper $1.50.

MORTAL ENGINES. Seabury Press. 239 pp. $9.95.

MEMOIRS FOUND IN A BATHTUB. Seabury Press. 188 pp. $6.95. Avon, paper $1.50.

STAR DIARIES. Seabury Press. 275 pp. $9.95. Avon, paper $1.75.

* Stanislaw Lem's forthcoming novel, *Chain of Chance*, will be published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich in August.

Kurt Vonnegut's novels include Mother Night, Cat's Cradle, Slaughterhouse Five *and* Breakfast of Champions.

GHOSTS

(for Donald Justice)

In the morning, the looming thing
that moved against me all night long
still lives in the hallways, when,
shoes in hand, I open the door

to go out. Then, through the cloud
of sluggish shadow that it is,
there spread the bright fragrances—
sweet breads, breakfast bacons, eggs
frying

in the sunny kitchen; and I
am made fearful, I
do not go down, I am not hungry
anymore, seeing

how it was I dreamed all night
of the dogs of my growing up,
the bony friends of my childhood,
my mother at twenty, my father

among soldiers: thinking
I would hear their voices
for the last time; and hearing them.

John Engels

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Prize-Winning Poets—1978

The winners of "DISCOVERY-*THE NATION*, '78" are Tom Absher, Jane Miller, Mark Rubin and Sherod Santos. They will read their poems on Monday, May 8, at 8 P.M. at The Poetry Center, 92nd Street YM-YWHA, 1395 Lexington Avenue. The contest was judged by Louise Glück, Daniel Halpern and Charles Simic. Now in its fourth year, the competition represents a fusion of The Poetry Center's "Discovery" contest and *The Nation*'s Poetry Prize. It is designed to attract larger audiences for new poets through the combined media of publication and poetry recital.

More than 1,400 manuscripts were received in "DISCOVERY-*THE NATION*, '78," which was open to poets who have not been published in book form. The winners were chosen on the basis of a body of work rather than on individual poems.

For publication in *The Nation*, we chose four from the winning groups of poems.

Grace Schulman, Poetry Editor

LOVE POEM

I put myself to sleep dreaming of you.
We are always together somewhere, we are not talking,
we are not making love. We hold each other
like two animals who know no speech,
who would repair themselves by touch.
For the first age I am holding you tightly in both my arms
to hide you, to plant you inside me
so you can live there and be safe,
so I can live there and be whole.
When it is my turn to rest in the fold of your arms
like an infant suckling, I make a home there
my body warmed by your body,
my soul nourished by a second heartbeat.
It is only after great passage of time
that I trust my mind to words again —
the body being its child is all demand and need.
In my dream this time of first speaking never comes.

Tom Absher

ANCIENT LAMENTATION

My love is Azatlan, the vendor,
and each day, as the small buds
fatten on the apple trees,
she grows thinner.
The fruit of this season will be bitter.

Before the new moon,
her family will gather baskets of
those wild yellow blossoms
called Brighter Than Stars
and spread them out
across her body
as though she were a rich empty field,

and for two days, slowly, she
will draw into herself
the suns of each petal
to make her journey easy
and full of light.
The fruit of this season will be bitter,
and the flowers colorless.

Sherod Santos

AVENUES ON THE ELM

Predictable as Southeast Ohio,
the B&O parcelled Dad's tongue
to good & evil.
The good life was afterlife,
and we believed him, we believed
cicadas lived outside their bodies.
We swore by what wasn't there.

The night Terry Willis flushed white
of another sense, he swore
colors of air bend, as one
bends a finger for want of light
and feels a passive tug, wanting it.
Words cut diagonals

to fear. There was no room
for talk of waves
or deep red that made the rose
laugh less in November.
There was room for quail
sitting together.
Room for the like-it-or-not
Baltimore-Ohio. Sometimes,

when I feel the need to move far
from myself, I think of those quail
that sigh late autumn to sleep,
and his face reaching
in place, each molecule distending.
The Willis boy, who came to me,
who did not come around.

Mark Rubin

MANY JUNIPERS, HEARTBEATS

The river wasn't cold.
As we swam, I imagined a sonata
with some clouds in the background.

I believed some of it.
To put it into words,
she was the metaphor of a girl.

I would not have known
how to manage my body
if she asked me.

The surface sprawled like a sheet,
and on it I wept for her.
Over the veil which sleeps between women

I wept, and over the sad schoolboy
irrevocably destined for her.
She prayed without opening her lips.

She was cognac, she was frangipani.
They told me finally to stop
my soliciting. How could I have ever

considered her carried away by sentiment —
she wore her inconsolable customs
which chill women and rivers at the source.

Jane Miller

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A Movement Baedecker

TWILIGHT OF THE YOUNG: The Radical Movements of the 1960s and Their Legacy. *By Klaus Mehnert. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 379 pp. $12.95.*

GERALD GRAFF

Anybody who thinks back without rancor on the youth movements of the later 1960s and earlier 1970s is likely to be struck by a sense of botched possibilities. The revulsion against politics which has set in in the wake of those explosive events has been so swift and complete that it makes one wonder about their reality. Having lived suddenly amid actual *issues* for a brief time, or at least amid what seemed to be actual issues, we have now been returned to a condition of issuelessness, and there is a kind of embarrassment about the things said and done back then. It leads one to question how the ideals and the point of the movement got lost. What happened to divert it into frivolity and nonsense?

Obviously this is a complicated question. It is not enough to blame the waning of the youth movements on the turn to violence or drugs or on the ending of the war in Vietnam, which removed the central focus of protest. There is a sense in which the failure of these movements was predictable. Their political thinking carried fundamental intellectual confusions, and from the beginning the ostensible goals of the movement—peace, truth and justice—began to be diluted and confused with pseudo-issues. The conflict between rich and poor, privileged and exploited, became confused with the conflict between square and hip, psychically "whole" and psychically repressed, straight and erotically liberated. The terms of politics were translated into the terms of personal self-realization and thus rendered innocuous. Questions about the distribution of wealth and property were displaced by questions about the distribution of pleasure and psychic gratification, and the Marxian proletariat was shouldered aside by the Freudian proletariat. Hence the prominence attained by empty slogans (many of which survive in current language, in therapy cults, and in advertising) about "expanding" or "raising consciousness," and the triumph of jargon and bombast over plain speech. Even the blacks, who might have been expected to keep their eyes more steadily on the hard facts of poverty and exploitation, diverted attention from these facts in order to promote fatuous nationalisms and a cult of self-congratulation ("black is beautiful") that perfectly mirrored the narcissism of the white middle class.

The net effect of all this was a great triumph for consumerism. A serious argument could be made to the effect that virtually all the popular forms of radicalism have served not only as instruments of the commodity-culture but as necessary preconditions of it. Without "radicalism," we would be far less perfect consumers than we are today. Marx argued that before capitalism could come into being, there had first to exist a body of free laborers, "free" in the sense that they could offer their services on the market. It was the dissolution of feudal ties which created this fund of free labor. In a parallel fashion, a precondition of consumer capitalism is the dissolution of bourgeois moral and psychological restraints upon the consumer. This dissolution is effected by radicalism and radical culture, the ethos of which is diffused, democratized, and merchandised. Perhaps this is too much of a simplification. But it is one of the lines of thinking that should be explored if we are to make any useful

Gerald Graff's book The Postmodern Temper, *a critique of recent literary and cultural-political trends, will be published by the University of Chicago Press next year. He has written for* American Scholar, Salmagundi *and* TriQuarterly.

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sense of what happened to the radical movements that seemed so irrepressible only a few years ago.

One will not find this line of thought explored in Klaus Mehnert's new book, *Twilight of the Young*. Nor will one find other kinds of attempts to put the period of youth rebellion in some wider context of explanation. The bulk of this 400-page book is taken up with summary. The names and dates and events are narrated, and we are presented with an interesting comparative picture of youth movements in different continents and countries—in the United States, England, France, Germany and Japan. This kind of summary does help recover a fix on the period, but unless it is illuminated by some attempt at understanding and explanation it remains mere summary. Mehnert does make a few passes at understanding and explanation. There is a chapter called "Inner Causes" which tries to explain the reasons, timing and nature of the various protests. Several plausible reasons are adduced: the sense of "a radical break in mankind's history" caused by the accelerating "process of change from a feudal agrarian to a modern industrial society"; disillusionment with the idea of progress; reaction against competition and the worship of wealth and "the achievement society"; alienation from work and crisis of identity.

Familiar as all these notions may be, they are not false or foolish. Any one of them could serve as the starting point for a useful analysis. But instead of giving us analysis, Mehnert leaves us with little more than generalized commonplaces. Ideas are reduced to potted encapsulations: "In 1960 a leading sociologist, Daniel Bell, proclaimed 'the end of ideology'; it seemed that no one needed an ideology anymore. . . ." "David Riesman, in *The Lonely Crowd* (1950), pictured a nation of manipulated people." History is reduced to potted formulas: "During the Christian Middle Ages, people's curiosity did not go beyond the word of God as interpreted by the Church; to study the unknown and to improve on nature seemed presumptuous." Mehnert does not write unintelligently; one feels he could have illuminated the history he describes had he only tried to do so.

Nor does Mehnert make any ambitious effort to judge the radicalisms he describes. His point of view may be described as moderate—broadly sympathetic with the idealistic purposes of the young radicals but sharply critical of the naive excesses of this idealism and of the frivolity and terrorism to which these excesses led. But Mehnert's judgments are delivered casually and without political or moral intensity. He presents the common-sense man's view of the revolutionaries: *they meant well, but. . . .* The trouble is we expect from books something more than the unargued common-sense judgments we could have made without them.

Perhaps it is unfair to find fault with a book for failing to do what it does not try to do. But what is the use of a book on "the radical movements of the 1960s and their legacy" unless it attempts seriously to contribute to our understanding? The personages in Mehnert's account—Rudy Dutschke, Bob Dylan, Tom Hayden, Charles Reich, Danny Cohn-Bendit, Joan Baez, Bernardine Dohrn, et al.—are not in themselves particularly interesting. The events in which they participated were not in themselves particularly rich in world-historical significance. The history of the 1960s as a bald sequence of events is not particularly instructive, though it can become so if placed in the right perspective. Simply to recall this history in a readable narrative does not take us far enough toward understanding it. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Bertolt Brecht's *The Life of Galileo*, written in 1938-39, is a brilliant and beautiful play, surely one of the best of our time. Those who were fortunate enough to see it performed in the physics laboratory at Columbia University last month by a new unit, The New York Actors' Theatre, had a rattling good time.

The text for this production, translated by Wolfgang Sauerlander and Ralph Mannheim, was based on Brecht's third version of the play. The second version, acted and translated by Charles Laughton with Brecht's help, was presented in New York in 1947. The various changes—cuts, corrections and amplifications—were made not simply from a desire for greater dramatic effectiveness but because of an uncertainty as to the play's essential theme, the point or message Brecht wanted to impress on the audience. To begin with, he wanted to dramatize the struggle of the pure scientist, as a champion of Reason, against the authority of church and state which insisted on the Aristotelian or Ptolemaic cosmology as a basis for Faith. The "event" at Hiroshima altered Brecht's focus, giving the play not so much a new meaning as a new emphasis and thrust. At the end of a proposed prologue to the American production (never, I believe, spoken in any of the productions) Brecht in 1947 wrote

If you won't learn from Galileo's experience
The Bomb will put in a personal appearance.

This consideration led to still another thought. Galileo, in dread of the torture threatened by the Inquisition if he did not abjure the Copernican thesis that the earth revolved around the sun —a view supposedly inimical to early 17th-century Christian doctrine—recanted. When Andrea Sarti, Galileo's favorite disciple, bitter at his master's cowardly betrayal of the truth, learns that during his "house arrest" Galileo has secretly gone on with his research and written a book recording his findings (the *Discourses*), which he gives to Andrea to be carried out of Italy for publication abroad, the young man discerns a certain wisdom in Galileo's recantation. After all, scientific fact can be suppressed only momentarily: it does not depend on the word or deed of a single individual. But, and here is Brecht's new conviction, Galileo sold out and cannot therefore forgive himself.

"To my mind," Galileo asserts, "the only purpose of science is to lighten the toil of human existence. If scientists, browbeaten by selfish rulers, confine themselves to the accumulation of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, science will be crippled and your new machine will only mean new hardships. Given time, you may well discover everything there is to discover, but your progress will be a progression away from humanity . . . the response to your exultation about some new achievement will be a universal outcry of horror. . . . If I had held out, scientists might have developed something like the physicians' Hippocratic oath, the vow to use their knowledge only for the good of mankind. As things stand now, the best we can hope for is a generation of inventive dwarfs, who can be hired for any purpose. . . ."

As done at Columbia, the play ends with Galileo speaking the lines that Brecht intended as a filmed epigraph to precede the evening's last scene:

May you now guard science's light
Keep it up and use it right
Lest it be a flame to fall
One day to consume us all.

The generally young audience fervent-

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ly applauded. There are others who do not readily assent to Brecht's "final" conclusion (I put final in quotes because Brecht was still revising the play at the end of his life in 1956). There is in itself an irrefrangible value, some maintain, in the pure pursuit of truth, regardless of consequences which are the concern of other forces. This is certainly a matter for profound argument. What excited me on the occasion was that Brecht's play, witty, colorful, concise in scenic metaphor, makes genuine drama and theatre out of such philosophical-social material.

Considering the extremely restricted confines of the available stage space at Havemeyer Hall the production was admirable. There were some innovative devices: between episodes, for example, instead of songs or printed signs in which the idea or place of the ensuing scene is indicated in Brecht's productions, a young man appeared and very rapidly and handsomely drew in colored crayons emblems required to denote the information. This was one way to achieve the theatrical "distancing" called for in the Brechtian dramaturgy.

Besides Laurence Luckinbill as Galileo, there were good performances by Mary Carver as Andrea Sarti's mother and Galileo's honest and simple-minded caretaker, and Richard Zavaglia as Galileo's shrewd friend, Sagredo, who warns him of the Establishment's inevitable emnity. Luckinbill was more vehement and vociferously passionate than either the Berliner Ensemble's Galileo or Charles Laughton. But Luckinbill is American and his Galileo in this repect is very American and perhaps properly so. In any case, his interpretation possessed the forcefulness as well as the intelligence demanded by the production's circumstances.

Galileo's scene with the Little Monk who fears the despair that Galileo's ideas will cause among his peasant parents and others like them was, oddly enough, much more dryly didactic than in either the German or the Laughton productions. The Carnival, which ordinarily lends itself to a splendidly ironic and musical spectacle was reduced to an unintelligible "number." Also the Pope's transformation with the donning of his vestments from humanist to august and fearsome Defender of the Faith here proved rather ineffective. Still, this New York Actors' Theatre's initial effort was animated by bright skillfulness, energy, a vital rhythm and unmistakable dedication.

If I were challenged to give a strictly accurate account of the plot in Lanford Wilson's *The 5th of July* I am not sure I could do it (Circle Repertory Company). That may be because the play possesses so little of what we ordinarily call "plot." In any case, plot is here not the point. More dismaying, I was not always clear about the interrelationships among the characters. This latter difficulty may have been my fault; some in the audience around me were able to explain what in this respect I had failed to grasp. But neither of these shortcomings, for which I believe the author must share the responsibility, prevented me from liking his overextended play!

It may be said to occupy a place in a particular tradition of our stage and literature: the description of certain of our native insanities. When we read of them in so signal a novelist as Faulkner we speak of "madness"; in their lighter manifestations we dub the phenomenon as "wackiness." Jane Bowles's *In a Summer House,* Saroyan's *The Time of Your Life* in a whimsical or sentimental key and Wilson's *The Hot'l Baltimore* all treat in one fashion or another with our home-grown oddballs.

The 5th of July is somewhat different from the softer examples in this category in that the people dealt with are for the most part on the "sick" side, and in the style of their depiction very much of today. I am sure that Wilson does not think of them in this way; he might even say they are the people who live next door—in Lebanon, Mo., where the play takes place and where he was born. There is no malice in his portraiture; he does not condescend to or patronize the group who "sat" for him and carry on for us. His attitude is entirely friendly, even companionate.

He cannot object to Kenneth Talley, the more or less homosexual and crippled Vietnam veteran (William Hurt) who is trying to live a useful life as a teacher of the socially or physically handicapped. There is also dignity in Jed, his aide and lover (Jeff Daniels) who is a botanist. To the large farmhouse—the Talley Place—in which the injured man lives with his sister, June (Joyce Reehling) and Shirley, her daughter (Amy Wright) come two friends on a visit that also has a "practical" purpose. One is John (Jonathan Hogan) who has attached himself to Gwen (Nancy Snyder) a West Coast millionaire's daughter, who is always on the point of freaking out. Both John and Gwen prime themselves with various brands of happy-making drugs. They are devotees of latter-day popular musical styles, and they propose to buy the Talley Place and build a studio on it for their musical recordings. On their way to Nashville, where they hope to sell one of their compositions, they have brought along with them a charming though near-cretinous guitarist (Danton Stone) who finds most of the company at the Talley Place "far out."

Ken's sister, once a "marcher" in the protests of the 1960s, is somewhat embittered but generally sensible. "Under the rose" in the "old days" she bore John the aforementioned Shirley, now 15, who envisions herself as someone who will become "the greatest artist in the world"—of a still undetermined kind. (Up to now, she asserts, the greatest star produced in Missouri was Betty Grable.) Then too there is the Talleys' 67-year-old Aunt Sally (Helen Stenborg) who unaccountably married a nice Jew whose ashes she has removed from their urn, poured into several candy boxes and finally dumped into the river.

Wilson does not treat these people "in depth." In extremely rapid strokes he traces their lineaments in the oddities and obscenities of their behavior and speech. But we observe, if we take pains to think about it, that all of them are romantics, even to a pathetic extent idealists, with no roots to nourish them, no environment to inspire—only sophisticated notions and half-assimilated information. No wonder they are nuts.

The writing is wittily deft throughout, the general tone hilariously batty; and, though the insights are swiftly passed over, we have frequent intimations of their presence. The play is utterly unpretentious; Wilson appears to want merely to amuse us, but something more than simple entertainment is achieved. Wilson *sees:* his sight is cockeyed but on target.

A most important contribution to the

AFTER A DEATH

we clean up
we pack books
we give away the evening bags
a hundred pairs of gloves
what we want, we take:
I take the portrait
that hung above her bed
the woman with long eyes,
half smiling
from every closet, every shelf
we save what we can
curry powder, spoons, a radio
but nobody gets the air
nobody gets the silvery haze
she kept in these rooms
nobody gets the light

Abigail Luttinger

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fun is the excellent cast. Marshall Mason, very knowing and humane in the direction of actors, has created out of the crazy quilt of the play's jiggling pattern a coherent and memorable "picture." To mention the particular qualities of the individual players would make this review longer than perhaps necessary. I need only say that when the play was over I wanted to marry them all! □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Four years ago the Metropolitan Museum of Art celebrated the centenary of the first Impressionist exhibition with a large group show and now there is a show of Monet alone. Taken together, the exhibitions are a sign of the continued popularity of this inventive and luxurious phase of French art. In addition, "Monet's Years at Giverny: Beyond Impressionism" shows how, as attractive subjects get used up, the succession of temporary museum exhibitions is forced toward ever-more specialized areas.

Thus, "Monet at Giverney," no less than the "Late Cézanne," recently at the Museum of Modern Art, combines popular appeal with a fairly specialized topic. To anyone interested in the resources of painting it is an exhilarating experience. The subtitle of the show, "Beyond Impressionism," signals what to look for. The assumption is that the early Impressionism of the 1870s represents a point of rational naturalism in which freedom of handling of paint was fused with acute observation of the world.

To go beyond Impressionism means, therefore, to exceed or transcend its empiricism. What Monet demonstrated, as he continued to paint landscape with progressively less specificity of detail, is the "self-regulating and self-steering properties" of his medium. I take these terms from Roman Jacobsen's description of the "internal logic of linguistic structures," but they seem applicable to Monet's sensitivity to the syntax of painterly improvisation. The taut balance of referential and syntactical levels in early Impressionism is relaxed to favor the latter level in a bewitching display of process.

In this exhibition one sees, as perhaps never before, the formal simplification of Monet's art: the stark primary forms of the haystacks—the pair seemingly in orbit around a changing spatial point as the artist moves his viewing position; the stark verticals—top to bottom of the canvas—of the poplars; the head-on symmetry of the Japanese footbridge over the lily ponds. I had not realized before the extent to which some of the closeups of flowers, grouped here under the heading "pond subjects," are enlarged. Both austerity of composition and dilation of motif leave Monet free to elaborate the whole surface of the painting in terms of color and gesture. The manual intricacies of the brush and the spectrum of light effects give these works a triumphal abundance.

Although the show seems precise in its topic, there are conceptual problems. Monet lived at Giverney for forty-four years, so the apparent concentration is deceptive. He settled at Giverney in 1883, but most of the paintings of the 1880s are basically Impressionist. The color may stray from the plausible norm of the 1870s, but the relaxed compositions, with a minimum of reference to traditional precedent, are basically Impressionist. The first emphatically non-Impressionist painting in the show is "The Boat," ca. 1887 (no. 7 in the catalogue), but six years later Monet still painted pictures in which paint handling is closely bound to naturalistic observation, such as "Haystack in Field," 1893 (no. 24). The decisive change has occurred by 1891, the marvelous year in which he painted both the haystack and poplar series, five of each of which are at the Metropolitan.

The exhibition coincides with the rehabilitation of Monet's garden by American philanthropy, but as Philippe de Montebello admits in the foreword to the catalogue the timing caused some difficulty. "Some sacrifices had to be made—to wit, the omission of a fully researched exegesis of Monet's work at Giverney. It was decided to provide instead a full chronology and a substantial selected bibliography and to reproduce in color every painting in the show." So the catalogue is a picture book and that bibliography is all of 2 pages with seventy-odd items. Daniel Wildenstein's essay is a nice piece of belles-lettrism but not an intellectual argument of the sort required for the understanding of Monet's move "beyond Impressionism." There are eighty-one paintings in the show, twenty-five of them from the Musée Marmottan, Paris, and twenty-one of these are from the 1920s. It cannot be said that the works of other years, except for a brilliant choice of paintings from 1891 and 1897, have an equal density. Thus the exhibition, though a fine chance to study late Monet, does not rest on the disciplined and perceptive foundations required for a major exhibition.

The show's concentration on the feedback circuit between Monet's garden and his paintings of it (planted and painted by the same man), though illuminating, has one drawback in that it curtails the range of his later painting. During the period, for example, he painted in London and Venice: the Thames bridges and the Gothic revival silhouette of the Houses of Parliament and the Venetian Gothic palace façades, all seen over water and in mist, resemble the Japanese footbridge in his garden. The role of geometric structure and associational architecture must be part of the move beyond Impressionism, but it goes undiscussed owing to the lure of the claustral garden and its pre-Abstract Expressionism lily ponds. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

Step for step, much of Douglas Dunn's new *Rille* could have been a repeat of Merce Cunningham's recent Events. Cunningham's stagecraft Dunn also found useful. In the intermissionless Events, change of dance had been signaled by change of costume, which produced a color-keyed choreography often dramaturgic in effect. Change of costume also delineates the sections of *Rille*, and often in Cunningham's terms. It's as if Dunn, himself a Cunningham dancer until 1973, borrowed not only his mentor's tie but also his tiepin. Transmigration is a common fact of dance life, and usually one wants to laugh it off the stage either for the audacity of lifting someone else's bric-a-brac or for the foolishness of lifting only the bric-a-brac. In Dunn's case, the resemblance to Cunningham is a measure of his achievement. He's the most exciting young choreographer around. Time and time again the steps in *Rille* brought me up short—for the way an oddly crooked elbow could enliven the whole body, for the fresh juxtapositions of stock movements, for the transformation of vernacular gesture into dance gesture. Time and time again the steps proclaimed that Dunn had gotten it. Even though the "it" is often an outrageous steal (as in the emphasis, not to mention precise configurations, of the arms as they strike classical poses without the traditional flow of transition, or in the sharp veering of the torso away from the center of balance), the unmannered quality of *Rille* suggests that the "it" Dunn has gotten goes far deeper than Cunningham trade-

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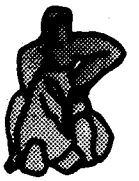
marks. He is imbued with Cunningham's spirit of exploration and rigorous approach to movement. Like Cunningham's dances, Dunn's give the impression of having proceeded from a clean slate. The rule of thumb: each moment must be interesting in itself and for itself. This is the breakthrough demand every Cunningham-dominated choreographer has had to cope with. *Rille* shows us a choreographer talented enough to assume responsibility for that dictum.

Fascinating steps do not necessarily make satisfying dances, and *Rille* shows us that too. Dunn started to make his own solos in 1971 and did not graduate to group dances until 1976, with *Lazy Madge*. I think he always knew how to put steps together, but putting dancers together is quite another thing. *Rille* is for seven dancers. Presumably a group dance, it often looks like several solos claiming to be a unit by virtue of their being performed simultaneously. This is especially true of the last part, when it seemed that Dunn, having decided that ending the dance with the same quartet that began it might be too conventional a resolution, brought on the rest of the group without a plan of how to incorporate them into the four-dancer unit. The last twenty minutes or so of the eighty-five-minute *Rille* dwindles into do your own (interesting) thing. The opening quartet, again about twenty minutes, does have a legitimate group plan, but a pretty measly one. The idea is to have the four dancers slowly revolve around the stage in square formation (is this the quad of *Rille*?), with one of them initiating movement for the other three to pick up. The osmosis effect is as hackneyed a structure as the steps are fresh.

Rille does not really get underway until Dunn changes from his black-and-white quadrille outfit (a nifty Cunningham bit, that, the correspondence between formal colors and formal dance) and comes back for a solo as startling as his new costume: electric green tights and shift striped in green, blue and yellow. Dunn spurts in daring zigzags around the stage, while his arms spurt in those bizarre flailings Cunningham so dearly loves. The contrast between these small details and the dance's bold trajectory paths, between finely and grandly wrought commotion endows the solo with amazingly compressed vigor. Well, Dunn was and is a great solo maker and soloist, and now he's even caught on to one of Cunningham's tricks of the trade as a dancer. By anticipating the dance's upcoming line of direction with a tiny snap of the head, Dunn



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cocks our attention so keenly to his mind that the surrounding space seems to dissolve under the glare of his concentration, and our perception of it.

Still, it is not until two new dancers —a punchy Marta Renzi in darker green and a mutedly lyrical Kyle de Camp in muted blue—begin to shadow each other's green and blue temperaments in carefully angled reflections that *Rille* moves from the mirrored enclave of the studio into a public forum. It becomes a full-fledged dance when Christopher Crawford treads on in sustained, low lunges, which become a somber bass line to the women's more showy steps. Mezzo-soprano, I'd call them. Although Crawford keeps to himself, his dance is not a solo. Its tone seeps into a larger texture, and ultimately defines that texture. Crouched on the ground, finally at rest, he is the last one we see before *Rille* breaks for an intermission. The serenity of his final pose seems both an extension of the state to which Renzi and de Camp had been evolving and a healing resolution to his own insistent stalking. That the whole dance can wind down to an image both singular and summational is proof that organic activity has been going on. And the satisfaction that image produces bespeaks a kind of preceding story, well told. It feels like the end, and Dunn lets the dance validate what we feel. It *is* the end. Similarly, the fact that the green-and-blue girl did not change costume during the second half of *Rille* validates one's feelings about their initial duet as being the crucial hinge on which the whole dance rests. His most uneven work, *Rille* is nevertheless Dunn's most communicative work.

While Dunn is striving for complexity, other choreographers are going back to basic training. Recently there has been a cluster of movement *études* from choreographers whom one would have thought had promoted themselves from the workshop bit. Eliot Feld's self-imposed demotion is the most perplexing case. In using Copland's dancey *El Salon Mexico* as a platform for a case study in schlepping, which he calls *La Vida*, Feld wipes out the music and also stamps out his own imagination, which is unsually rich when Feld so chooses. Why he should choose not to be complicated is one of the tougher puzzles of the dance scene. Murray Louis's study, *Vivace*, is at least not a case study in self-denial. It was probably prompted by Bach (a prelude and fugue) and by the participation of Rudolf Nureyev in his April marathon with the Louis company and the Dutch National Ballet. This solo takes a calculated piecemeal approach to composition, showing us first the static dancer, then the legged dancer, the shouldered dancer, and finally the whole dancer. Then it winds down to stasis again. Although this anatomical presentation of dance gets mighty didactic at times, and a little untruthful too—neither choreographers nor dancers really do learn their craft by concentrating first on the ankles, then the knees, upward and onward to greater glory—the idea of transmitting the syllabus through a dancer striving for completeness is not without theatrical viability. To see the likes of Nureyev going through the paces is touching. It might have been rewarding too had Nureyev not been so bound to Louis's idiosyncratic and difficult style. For the more baroque Louis became, the fuzzier Nureyev became. The one section in which *Vivace* actually leaves the classroom and dances (a compact allegro showing the whole dancer) left Nureyev in a scramble.

Bach often returns choreographers to the classroom, a move not reflective of the composer's character but rather of the choreographers' musicale naiveté. Kathryn Posin's *Bach Pieces*, which her company performed during a season at the American Place Theatre, contains studies in balance and overlapping rhythms, and all one can say about them is that they're par for the course. The surprise of her new *Clear Signals* is that even a space-age fantasy, as she calls it, should be at heart a movement study. *Clear Signals* is her *Close Encounters* with a little *Star Wars* thrown in (Day-Glo costumes fringed with plastic); what it really is, is a prim exercise in odd arm gestures. For all the amusement intended to be derived from the semaphoring creatures, and for all the amusing echoes of Balanchine's airport ballet, *Pamtgg*, in substance this interplanetary production number gets no farther than the *barre*. Much of the contradictory nature of *Clear Signals* arises from its particular subject, while the confusion it fosters between simplicity and simplemindedness is endemic to all the recent examples of the workshop genre. □

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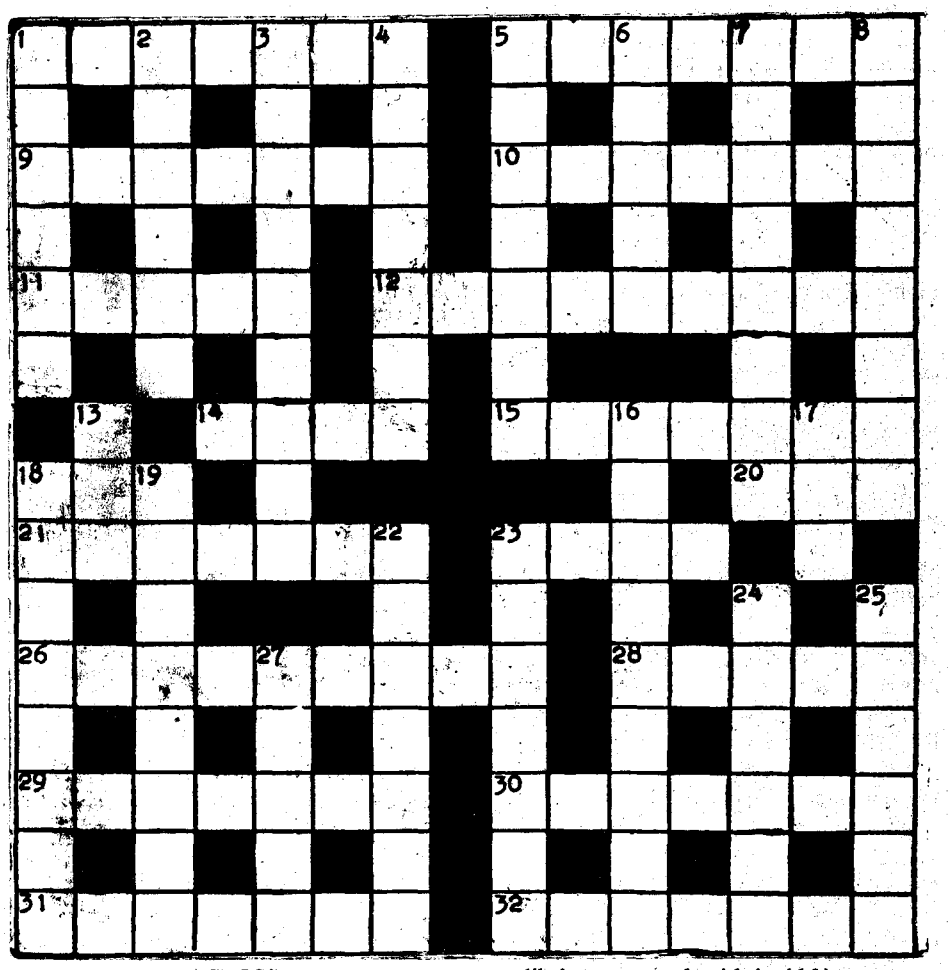
SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1725

ACROSS: 1 On the bright side; 9 Current; 10 Outflow; 11 Indite; 12 Cheekier; 14 Absconders; 15 Elat; 19 Invaluable; 22 European; 23 Shelve; 25 Opining; 26 On the go; 27 Needle and thread. DOWN: 1 Once in a blue moon; 2 Tirades; 3 Election; 4 Rats; 5 Geothermal; 6 Titles; 7 Ill will; 8 Edward the Second; 13 Odontalgia; 16 Nuthatch; 18 Corvine; 20 Believe; 21 Uphill; 24 and 17 Good luck.

Crossword Puzzle No. 1726

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It isn't always easy to be one early in the morning, though we might use it for coffee. (7)
5 Wildly imagine something pure—mad—crazy! (5,2)
9 It's a riot in fun material, but talk is cheap. (7)
10 Made a little easier to understand, giving part of the article a rereading. (7)
11 How might they look? Ester Kilmer made something of them. (5)
12 His economy was political. (4,5)
14 See 16 down
15 and 18 Ma's joint is tender, perhaps, and a ton more would make it prophetic. (6,4)
20 See 18 down
21 A blowout in a tire could cause such lack of motion. (7)
23 See 18 down
26 The things Kipling said Gentiles use for snake bites? (9)
28 Phosphorus and plumbum appeal, possibly. (5)
29 Transitively, leaks. (4,3)
30 One might, on watch. (4,3)
31 Small doors the British sometimes try and knock down. (7)
32 Foster's was beautiful. (7)

DOWN

1 and 13 It might make points in football and wrestling, but you're not so likely to get stuck with it. (6,3)
2 Hearing the same drummer this way, obviously on foot? (6)
3 Comes down heavily with a sullen look, being partly responsible for a run-off. (9)
4 Hurried to the bag to make a vigorous search. (7)
5 Talk about medical trouble! (7)
6 A few ersatz pitchers inside? (5)
7 Assembled around a train wreck, one might be a stickler for discipline. (8)
8 The leverage required to buy something? (8)
13 See 1 down
16 and 14 across Numbers here, though it's not the Bible. (9,4)
17 A factor with zero—the Greeks could scarcely write without it. (3)
18, 20 and 23 across A big success underneath a strip sometimes associated with the Bible, though not very sporting! (3,5,3,4)
19 Just a cent paid in change for what one with true learning shouldn't be. (8)
22 Kinsmen with silver on the buttocks? (7)
23 Women used to be so cushioned when the bosom came first. (7)
24 What politicians sometimes promise to do to make 5 down decimal? (6)
25 In charge—at least on paper. (6)
27 Look up inside the part the oar turns on. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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The FCC acted after WBAI—a listener sponsored Pacifica radio station in New York—broadcast a monologue by comedian George Carlin about "seven words you can't say on TV" which satirizes how people get uptight by the use of certain words.

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Undaunted, the FCC has now taken the "Carlin Case" to the Supreme Court which will consider this critically important constitutional question: *Do all First Amendment rights traditionally enjoyed by free press also extend to radio and television?*

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BANNED?

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Aristophanes
Shakespeare
Jonathan Swift
Ernest Hemingway
Dylan Thomas
Chaucer
Margaret Mead
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Lord Byron
The Nixon/Watergate Tapes

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It's been a tough and expensive battle for us. . . . Now we're asking for your help. Your contribution to the Pacifica First Amendment Fund will help insure that one of our most basic freedoms—the freedom of speech—will remain intact. And, it will help us keep on broadcasting words that the government would rather not hear.

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